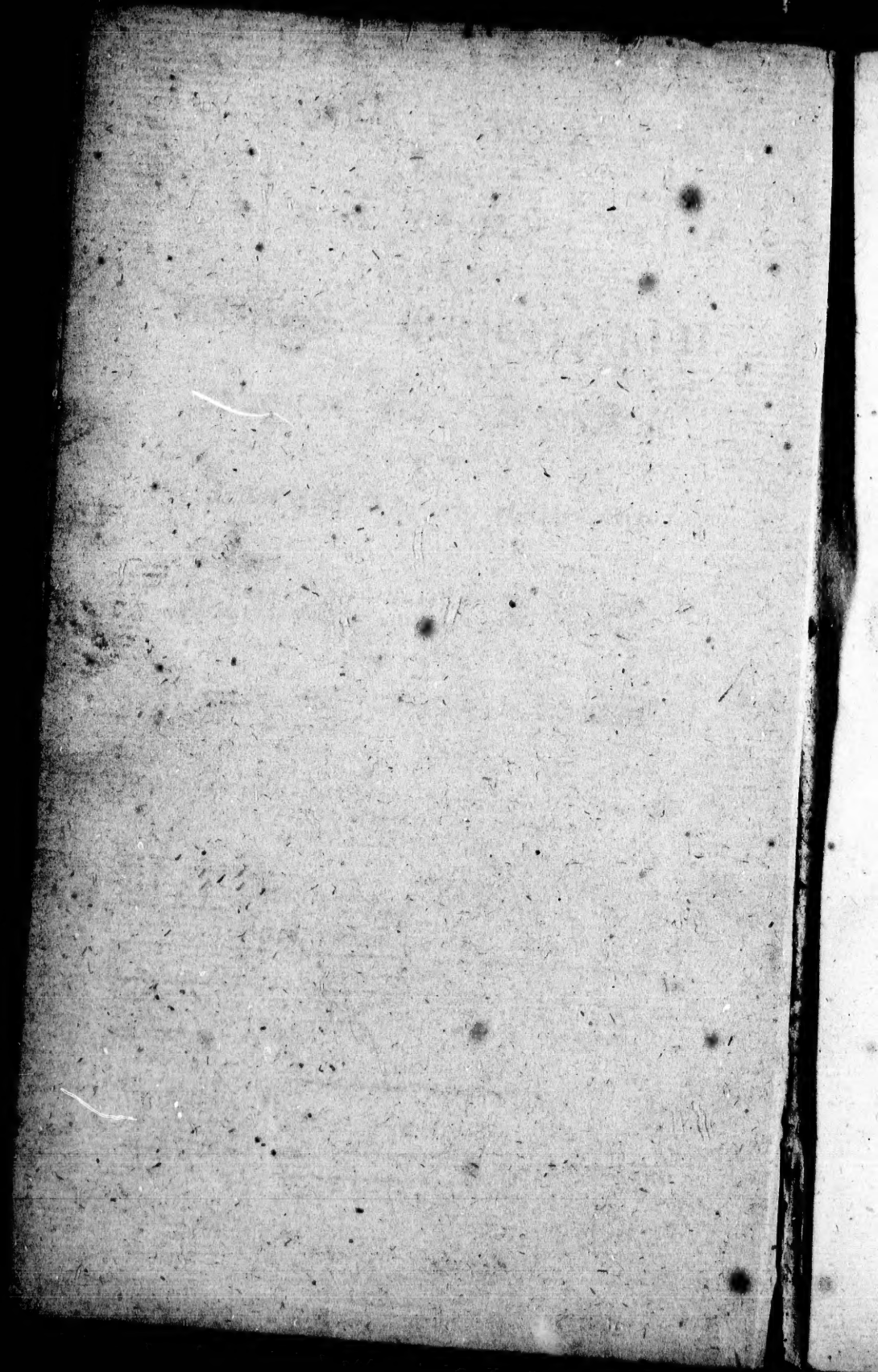




BIOGRAPHIA NAUTICA:
O R,
M E M O I R S
O F T H O S E
ILLUSTRIOUS SEAMEN,
T O W H O S E
INTREPIDITY AND CONDUCT
T H E
ENGLISH ARE INDEBTED,
F O R
The VICTORIES of their FLEETS, the INCREASE of their
DOMINIONS, the EXTENSION of their COMMERCE,
A N D T H E I R
PRE-EMINENCE ON THE OCEAN.

INTERSPERSED WITH

The most material Circumstances of NAVAL HISTORY, from
the NORMAN INVASION to the Year 1779.
Embellished with COPPER-PLATES.

By DR. J. CAMPBELL, and JOHN KENT, Esq.
IN FIVE VOLUMES.

VOL. IV.

ENGLAND IS A LAND WHICH CAN NEVER BE CONQUERED WHILST
THE KINGS THEREOF KEEP THE DOMINION OF THE SEAS.
SIR WALTER RALEIGH.

D U B L I N :
PRINTED FOR J. WILLIAMS, [No. 20.] DAME-STREET.
M.DCC.LXXXV.

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ILLUSTRIOUS SEAMEN, &c.

CONTINUATION OF

The FIFTH PERIOD.

NAVAL, COMMERCIAL, and MISCELLANEOUS
TRANSACTIONS, during the REIGN of JAMES,
the FIRST.

LET us now proceed to an account of the naval expedition against the Algerines. To what causes it may be assigned, is yet a point which no historian hath incontestably determined. We learn from some authorities, that Gondomar, the ambassador from the court of Madrid, having gained the ascendant over the understanding of James, persuaded him, contrary to his natural inclination, which seldom permitted him to act vigorously against his own enemies, that it was necessary to fit out a formidable fleet, in order to humble the foes of the king of Spain (a). By different historians,

A 2

(a) Rushworth's collections, V. 4. p. 34.—Camden's Annals of the reign of James, the first, A. D. 1620.—Wilson's history of James, the first, p. 726.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 30.

torians, we are informed that this project was of an older date; that the earl of Nottingham, previous to his resignation of the post of lord high-admiral of England, had earnestly solicited the king to engage in preparations for such an enterprize; that Sir Robert Mansel had strongly intimated to Buckingham that it would reflect the highest lustre on his abilities in the naval department, if the expedition took place, at the dawn of his administration. As this fortunate, and aspiring favourite too easily induced the sovereign to consent to the gratification of all his wishes, it is reasonable to suppose that, through his influence, the project was carried into execution; notwithstanding that Sir William Monson, who had been consulted, delivered an opinion, supported by strong, and clear arguments, that it was rash, and ill-founded; and that, instead of raising the reputation of the naval power of the English, it would only contribute to render them ridiculous, as the whole world would observe the disappointment; whereas but few could judge of its real cause, or of the injustice of measuring thereby the maritime strength of Britain (b).

On the twelfth of October, in the year, one thousand, six hundred, and twenty, the armament (c) set sail

(b) Sir William Monson's naval Tracts, p. 253.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 31.

(c) The following is a LIST of the FLEET.

ROYAL NAVY.				
Ships.	Burth.	Men.	Brafs	Commanders.
	Tons.		guns.	
The Lion, admiral	600	250	40	Sir Rob. Mansel.
Vanguard, vice-miral	660	250	40	Sir Rich. Hawkins.
Rainbow, rear-miral	660	250	40	Sir Thomas Button.

The

ILLUSTRIOUS SEAMEN, &c. 5

fail from Plymouth, and, on the thirty-first, entered the streights of Gibraltar, where the admiral gave orders that the sick should be disembarked.

On the sixteenth of November, and when all persons had returned on board, the fleet set sail, and came to an anchor in the road of Algiers, and out of the reach

A 3 either

Ships.	Burth.	Men.	Brass	Commanders.
	Tons.		Guns.	
Constant Reformation	660	250	40	Captain Arthur Maynwaring.
Antelope	400	160	34	Sir Hen. Palmer.
Convertine	500	220	36	Captain Thomas Love.

SHIPS hired from the MERCHANTS.

Ships.	Burth.	Men.	Iron	Commanders.
	Tons.		Guns.	
Golden Phoenix	300	120	24	Captain Samuel Argall.
Samuel	300	120	22	Captain Christopher Harris.
Marigold	260	100	21	Sir John Fearn.
Zouch Phoenix	280	120	26	Captain John Pennington.
Barbary	200	80	18	Captain Thomas Porter.
Centurion	200	100	22	Sir Francis Tanfield.
Primrose	180	80	18	Sir John Hamden.
Hercules	300	120	24	Captain Euseby Cave.
Neptune	280	120	21	Captain Robert Haughton.
Merchant-Bonaventure	260	110	23	Captain John Chidley.
Restore	130	50	12	Captain George Raymond.
Marmaduke	100	50	12	Captain Thomas Herbert.

either of the town, or of the castle, the former of which the English saluted, but were not answered by a single gun. On the day following, the admiral sent an officer, with a white flag, on shore, in order that he might acquaint the vice-roy with the reasons which gave occasion to the arrival of the fleet. Soon afterwards, four Turks returned, and declared that the vice-roy had received orders from the Grand Seignior, to treat the English with the most inviolable respect, and to permit them to disembark, whensoever they thought proper, and purchase such provisions as they might want. They, also, promised that if the admiral would, on the following day, send on shore a person of distinction, with the letters from the king of England, sufficient hostages should be given for his safety (*d*).

On the twenty-ninth, an English officer disembarked, and informed the Turks what pledges were demanded for those persons who were in readiness to wait on them with the king's letters. At four in the afternoon, the signal-gun was fired from the Lion, and, soon afterwards, captain John Roper, attended by several of the chief persons belonging to the fleet, proceeded in his barge, for the purpose of delivering the royal credentials to the Bashaw, and the Divan. As he approached the shore, he was informed, by a messenger, that the principal Turks were absent, and the hostages not ready; but that, on the morrow, all delays should be removed; yet no regard was paid to these promises.

On

(*d*) During the night, the pirates brought into Algiers, three prizes; a Flemish, and two English vessels; the one bound from Plymouth; and the other from North-Yarmouth.

ILLUSTRIOUS SEAMEN, &c. 9

On the second of December, Roper, and his company, landed at Algiers, and immediately two inhabitants, of the first rank, were sent as hostages to the admiral. On the third, six Spanish men of war cast anchor within the harbour, when the commanding officer struck his flag, in honour to the English. He, next, went on board the Lion, and informed Sir Robert Mansel that he had arrived in pursuit of some Turkish pirates, who, having engaged, taken and set on fire, a Spanish ship, of the burthen of seven hundred tons, reduced to captivity the whole crew, amounting to three hundred persons. This squadron approached nearer to the town, when some shot were exchanged, but no considerable damage ensued from either side.

On the fourth, Sir Robert Mansel received an answer to the king's letters, from the Divan, and, on the sixth, the Turks concluded their negotiation, by refusing to dismiss the English officer, who had been first sent to them, unless an English consul were left at Algiers. On this occasion, Sir Robert Mansel, who, together with his associates, appears to have acted with a duplicity as shameful as that which he was reviling, gave orders that a common sailor should be sumptuously attired, and dispatched, with the name of Consul, to the Divan. This trick succeeded; the man was respectfully entertained, and, soon afterwards, forty Englishmen, who had been purposely freed from their captivity went on board the fleet, where, agreeably to their instructions, they informed the admiral that the Turks would embrace an early opportunity to give him satisfaction with respect to every other demand which he had made. On the seventh, Sir Robert Mansel, still persisting in Deceit, sent letters of instruction to the pretended consul, and bade him deliver

deliver a paper to the Balhaw, who was reproached, in the bitterest terms, for the perfidy of his conduct.

On the eighth, and when most of the provisions were expended, the fleet set sail for Majorca, where Sir Robert Mansel intended to remain with it, until the commencement of the ensuing spring. On the evening of the twenty-fifth, eight sail of Turkish vessels approached the fleet, but, on being chased, steered a different course, and, previous to the next morning, were out of sight.

On the twenty-sixth, the English entered the road of Alicant; but were disappointed in their expectations of receiving a supply of provisions from their own country. On the twenty-seventh, some ships belonging to the fleet stood out to sea, and, after the expiration of two days, returned without success, notwithstanding that they had chased a Turkish vessel.

On the twelfth of January, in the year, one thousand, six hundred, and forty-one, an express arrived from Carthagena, inclosing letters dispatched from England, and bearing date on the fourteenth of the preceding month of December. The contents were that provisions sufficient for the subsistence of the whole fleet, during six months, had been delivered at Malaga. On the twenty-first, fifteen Flemings rowed, in their boat, towards the Lion, and, having been permitted to go on board, informed the admiral that, being chased, near Cape Martin, by the Turks, they, to preserve their lives, had left their ship. At this period, and during some days, several vessels were dispatched in pursuit of the former, but they returned without having been able to descry them.

On the twenty-fifth, captain Roper proceeded, with letters, for England; and, on the twenty-seventh, all the remainder of the fleet set sail, except the *Mar-maduke*,

ILLUSTRIOUS SEAMEN, &c. 9

maduke; the captain of which, together with the master, was sick on shore.

On the twenty-eighth, they fell in with seven sail of Flemish men of war, under the command of the Admiral of Zealand. These were a part of a large armament consisting of twenty-two ships, and divided into squadrons, for the purpose of cruizing near the streights.

On the sixteenth of February, and when the fleet was within the bay of Gibraltar, supplies arrived from England, in two merchant-ships, and two men of war. These last were the Mercury, of the burthen of two hundred, and forty tons, having, on board, sixty-five men, mounting twenty brass guns, and being commanded by captain Pet; the Spy, of the burthen of one hundred, and sixty tons, and carrying eighteen brass guns. Her complement amounted to fifty-five men, and her captain was Edward Giles.

Few occurrences are mentioned in the journals from this period, until the twenty-ninth of April, when the fleet arrived in the road of Majorca. From hence, reinforced by three large brigantines, and a polacre, of the burthen of one hundred, and twenty tons, all of which had been purchased by the admiral, the fleet departed for Algiers. Arriving there, on the twenty-first of May, the ships were thus stationed: the men of war belonging to the royal navy, and the Golden Phoenix, drew up in a north, and south line, the admiral riding in the middle of them, east of the south end of the Mole. Next to the admiral, on the northern side, came to an anchor the Reformation, and the Golden Phoenix, the Convertine, on the south side, and the Antelope on the north side of the Reformation, the vice-admiral innermost on the south side, and the rear-admiral outermost on the north side.

10 MEMOIRS OF

side. The remainder of the fleet came to, astern of the admirals of their respective squadrons, and then anchored, with the wind at west.

On the day following, six of the merchant-ships were ordered to ply about to the westward, and near to the shore, for the purpose of preventing any pirates from passing between it, and the fleet. Preparations were also made for executing, at the succeeding night, the design of setting fire to the ships within the Mole. Two Turkish prizes, the one of the burthen of an hundred tons, and the other of the burthen of sixty tons, were filled with dry wood, oakham, pitch, rosin, tar, and various combustibles, being, at the same time, provided with chains, grappling-irons, and boats to bring off the men. Next followed the three brigantines, procured by the admiral, at Alicant. On board of these were fire-balls, buckets of wild-fire, and fire-pikes, for the purpose of fixing them to the vessels of the enemy. A gunlod was also prepared, and raised by chains, and grappling-irons. It was resolved that it should be discharged into the midst of the ships within the mole, whilst a boat attended for the purpose of bringing off the men who might be concerned in this enterprize. Seven boats, filled with armed men, followed to sustain those belonging to the fire-ships, in case of a pursuit, at their retreat. these, also, were supplied with fire-works, for the purpose of destroying the ships without the Mole.

As the wind proved unfavourable, the attempt was deferred until the twenty-fourth, when it blew briskly at south-south-west. The ships now advanced towards the Mole, but when they had approached within musket-shot of the head, so still a calm ensued that it was impossible for them to enter. The crews of the boats, and brigantines, perceiving that they were
disco-

discovered by the brightness of the moon, which was then at full, and hearing the alarm that was given to the town, by the sentinels posted on the ramparts, determined to proceed, and the rather, because a Christian slave, who swam from Algiers, informed them that the Turks, not suspecting an attack, had left their ships almost intirely unguarded. Their endeavours were, notwithstanding, fruitless, as the wind was yet too gentle either to nourish, or disperse their fire-works.

In this service, only six men were killed, before the place. Five were so dangerously wounded that they expired soon after their return, and thirteen were slightly hurt. This number cannot be deemed considerable, if it be remarked that the attempt was made under the walls of the town, from which place the ordnance, and musquets were discharged continually against them. The only damage which they sustained was during their retreat, previous to which they owed their security to their situation, as they had entered within the mole before the alarm was given to the town, and the ships which were stationed between it, and the boats, defended them from the fire of the enemy. Thus ended an expedition as unfortunate, as it was dishonourable.

On the twenty-fifth, the English weighed anchor, and stood off to sea, when four sail of pirates, in spite of the endeavours of the latter to intercept them, steered their course by the westernmost point of land, and entered within the harbour. On the twenty-eighth, the Bonaventure, and the Hercules ran a pirate ashore. On board of this vessel were an hundred, and thirty Turks, together with eleven Christian Captives. All were drowned, except twelve Turks, who, with difficulty, swam to land.

On

On the thirtieth the fleet again entered the bay, and anchored within the distance of three miles from the town. On the day following, the English received information from two Genoese slaves, who had escaped from Algiers, that, on the night of their departure, seven of the best ships belonging to that place had entered the Mole, which would probably have fallen into their hands. They added that all future attempts of this nature must prove ineffectual, as the Turks, in order to prevent the entrance of vessels, had placed a boom across the Mole, whilst their ships within it were filled with armed men, and, without, three galleys, and fifteen boats, were stationed before the boom, to guard it.

Notwithstanding these advices, the English continued in the road, until the fourth of June, during which time their cruizers took, and brought in a vessel, on her passage from Leghorn, to Algiers, and laden with Venice cloth, and many valuable commodities, exclusive of two thousand pounds, in money. From this event, we meet with no material transaction, and it will be sufficient to add that the ships returned to England, previous to the conclusion of the month.

This ill-concerted enterprize is observed to have had no other effect than that of exposing the English commerce to the depredations of the Algerines, who committed more injuries than they received, notwithstanding that two fleets (feeble indeed in their operations,) were afterwards sent out against them, the one under the command of the lord Willoughby, and the other under that of the earl of Denbigh. On these undertakings, a naval historian (e) hath made some severe, but just remarks, and particularly complains that, although the whole nation was grievously offended,

(e) Sir William Monson.

sented, as will always be the case, during such miscarriages, yet they were never softened either by any candid investigation of the point, or any spirited attempt to redress the evils which resulted from it; a proceeding which irritated them beyond measure, and contributed in a high degree, to excite that violence which was felt afterwards, amidst the horrors of a civil war (*f*).

In the year, one thousand, six hundred, and twenty, the East-India company fitted out four new ships; the London, of the burthen of eight hundred tons; the Hart, of the burthen of five hundred tons; the Roebuck, of the burthen of three hundred tons; and the Eagle, of the burthen of two hundred, and eighty tons. All these, in the month of February, set sail, under the command of captain Andrew Shilling, from Tilbury, and proceeded on their course together, until they approached the shores of Dabul, where they separated for different voyages, but, soon afterward, rejoining, prepared for an attack against the Portuguese, who lay in wait for the purpose, at least, of hindering, if not destroying the commercial Interchange of the English, with the Persians. On their Passage to Jasquez, the intended scene of action, they intercepted, engaged and took a Portuguese vessel, laden with dates, and raisins, and having on board a number of Arabian horses designed to be transported from Muscat, to Chaul.

As

(*f*) The particulars relative to this expedition are taken from Purchas's Pilgrims, V. 2. p. 881.—Harris's Coll. Part 1. p. 369.—An account published by Authority, in the year, one thousand, six hundred, and twenty-one.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 31, 32, 33.—and Lediard's naval History, Folio. V. 2. p. 459, 460, 461, 462.

As the English advanced towards the Portuguese fleet, they perceived that it consisted of four galleons, two galliots, and ten frigates, which last were stationed, with supplies of men, and ammunition, at a short distance, and near the eastern extremity of Jasques road. An engagement soon ensued, and lasted, without intermission, during nine hours, when, as the night advanced, all hostilities ceased. For the space of the four succeeding days, the English remained unmolested, and landed the merchandize, and money, belonging to the East-India company. At length, the enemy reinforced by men, and ammunition, from Ormus, had the resolution to approach nearer, and were saluted with a broadside, which gave occasion to a battle that was maintained with equal obstinacy, by each party, during a considerable time, when the Portuguese cut the cables of their ships, and availing themselves of their frigates, which took them in tow, retreated to a securer distance. The greatest loss endured by the English was the death of their admiral, who was so severely wounded, that he expired on his passage to the shore. They afterwards, took two Portuguese prizes, one of which was valuably freighted. In April, of the year, one thousand, six hundred, and twenty-one, the ships separated, and proceeded on different voyages (g).

About this period, a colony was planted at New-Plymouth, in New-England, being the first establishment in that country. One chief occasion of this event was the situation of Mr. Robinson, and Mr. Brewster, independent ministers, and several English Families,

(g) Harris's Coll. Part 1. p. 203.—Purchas's Pilgrims, V. 4. p. 723—728.—Lediard's naval History, Folio. V. 2. p. 463.

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lies, who, in order to avoid a persecution on account of their religious principles, had retired into Holland, where the toleration with which they were favoured was not sufficiently powerful to screen them from a multitude of hardships. Concluding that, in America, they should not only enjoy a greater liberty of conscience, but become enabled to make ampler provisions for their families, they applied through the intercession of the secretary, Sir Robert Naunton, to king James, who declared that they should be protected in every lawful enterprize which they might think proper to undertake, in that quarter of the globe.

Accordingly, Mr. Brewster, (for Mr. Robinson did not live to proceed upon the voyage,) entered into a treaty with the company for an extensive tract of land, in the south-western parts of New-England, and embarking, with his associates, at Delft, directed his course to Southampton, from whence, after having been joined by another ship, on board of which were several nonconformists, he departed for America.

At the commencement of November, these adventurers arrived at Cape Cod, the most remarkable point of New-England (*h*), and cast anchor in the bay, which was capable of containing a thousand sail, and furrounded by shores, where the various produce of the earth was dispersed in great abundance.

On

(*h*) It was their intention to have seated themselves near Hudson's River ; but their Dutch pilot had been bribed by his countrymen to steer their vessel more to the Northward, and not to touch at that part of the continent of which they themselves intended to take possession. This they afterwards effected ; but, in the sequel, were dispossessed by the English, who called the country New-York.

On the cleventh of November, in the year, one thousand, six hundred, and twenty, and, previous to their landing, they drew up, and signed an instrument, in which they declared themselves to be subjects of the crown of England, joining in a body-politic, and solemnly engaging submission to the laws that should from time to time, be enacted for the benefit of the colony. When these forms were concluded, they chose Mr. John Carver to be their governour.

They, next, sent out parties, in order that they might examine the situation of the country, and deliver in a report concerning the most proper spot for the establishment of a colony. At their return, the whole company were so satisfied with the result of their observations, that they resolved to proceed, as soon as possible, to the place which had been the most approved. Accordingly, on the twenty-third of December, they visited, and fixed upon an eminence on the main land, where, formerly, corn had grown, and which, at that time, was watered by many springs. Near it, and in view from an adjacent hill where the English intended to erect a fort, was a capacious bay, and within it were Rhode, and Elizabeth islands. No time was now lost; a necessary number of edifices were constructed; but, in order that as few as possible might serve, the colonists divided themselves into nineteen families, who, after an assiduous toil, during three months, had intirely laid the foundations of a town.

The land immediately adjoining to this spot was uninhabited; a circumstance which (according to the information of a savage, who arrived amongst the English, with offers of amity from the next adjacent peopled country,) was owing to a plague which raged until the mortality had become universal.

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as the colonists were settled far to the northward of the territory for which they had engaged, they wanted an authority to confirm them in their possessions; and therefore, it was agreed, to chuse, until they should be impowered to proceed legally, by a charter from the king, a set of rulers, who were to govern them as nearly consonant as possible to the laws of England.

In the following year, this plantation, which was reinforced by thirty-five men, from England, and supplied with all necessaries, received the name of New-Plymouth, in New England. Soon afterwards, one of the Indian princes declared war; and this event suggested to the English the necessity of erecting forts, in order to secure themselves against the invasions of their enemies. From this place, were gradually made the drafts for the other districts of the country; and on so slight a foundation arose that province which, until a late melancholy period, was equally remarkable for its prosperity, and its commerce.

The king afterwards confirmed the possession to these colonists by a patent, and (reserving the sovereignty to the crown of England,) thereby enabled them to elect a governour, council, and a general court, in the manner of a parliament, who should have a full power of administration, and execution, in all legal cases whatsoever (i)

In the year, one thousand, six hundred, and twenty, captain Roger North, the brother of the lord Dudley North, having procured a patent (not-
VOL. IV. B withstanding

(i) Smith's general history of Virginia, p. 230.—British empire in America, V. 1. p. 28.—Introduction to a collection of voyages, p. 56.—Harris's Coll. Part 1. p. 852.—Purchas's Pilgrims, V. 4. p. 1843.—Lediard's naval history, folio. p. 463, 464.

withstanding that one granted to captain Harcourt was still in force,) and established a kind of company, prepared for a voyage to the river of Amazons, chiefly for the purpose of settling on the adjacent land, and making a return of such commodities as it afforded.

On the thirtieth of April, he set sail from Plymouth, accompanied by an hundred, and twenty gentlemen, exclusive of passengers, and the crews belonging to a ship, a pinnace, and two shallops. In the course of seven weeks, these adventurers approached the mouth of the river, and, having sailed, several hundred leagues, along the shore, were so fortunate as to discover a fertile country, the inhabitants of which were courteous in their manners. Having concluded his commercial negotiations, captain North left the majority of his company upon the spot, and returned to England with such a large cargo of valuable merchandize as seemed an earnest of ease, and opulence, during the remainder of his life; but the infatuated James, overpowered by the artful insinuations of Gondomar, the Spanish ambassador, imprisoned this celebrated adventurer, and detained his goods until they were damaged, and unfit for sale. This act of oppression retarded the continuance of his project, notwithstanding that several of his company remained in the country of the Amazons, during a considerable time (*k*).

We shall conclude the relation of the naval events of the year, one thousand, six hundred, and twenty, with a brief account of an engagement between the Margaret and John, an English ship, mounting eight guns, and of the burthen of one hundred, and sixty

(*k*) Smith's general history of Virginia, App. p. 40.—
Lediard's naval history, folio. V. 2. p. 465.

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sixty tons, and two Spanish men of war, each of the burthen of three hundred tons, and carrying sixteen brass cannons.

The Margaret and John, commanded by captain Chester, was proceeding to Virginia, at once so full of passengers, and deeply laden, as to be judged apparently unfit for the purposes of engaging. Near the island of Dominica, this vessel was intercepted, and attacked by two Spanish ships, at a time when war had not been declared against the English, but so gallantly did the latter, although often boarded by the enemy, stand on their defence, during the space of six hours, that the Spanish ships received such considerable damage, and lost such numbers of their crews, that they could not, without difficulty, bear away from their opponents. On the day following, and when their vessels had been refitted, the Spaniards sailed near the English, but dreading the consequences which might result from a renewal of the fight, permitted them to pursue their voyage (*l*), (*m*).

B 2 To-

(*l*) Purchas's Pilgrims, V. 4. p. 1780.—Smith's general history of Virginia, p. 128.—Lediard's naval History, V. 2. Folio. p. 465.

(*m*) The following is a continuation of the list of supplies sent to Virginia, in the year, one thousand, six hundred, and twenty-one; and one thousand, six hundred, and twenty-two.

	Ships.	Burthen. Tons.	Persons.	Cattle.
1621, May.	The Eleanor	30	10	
July.	George	180	120	
	Charles	120	80	
	Marmaduke	100	80	
	Temperance	80	50	
August.	Warwick	160	100	
	Tiger	40	40	

1621,

Towards the conclusion of the month of October, in the year, one thousand, six hundred, and twenty-one, the Jacob, of Bristol, a ship of the burthen of one hundred, and twenty tons, was overpowered, and taken, after a severe engagement, by a Corfair, belonging to Algiers. The Turks took out of this prize all the crew excepting four persons, and sent on board of her thirteen of their own men, one of which was appointed captain, and directed to set sail, in her, for Algiers.

On the fifth night from their departure, a violent storm arose, and the four Englishmen, to whom the dread of slavery appeared more terrible than death, availed themselves of the confusion which this event occasioned, in order to regain their liberty. Observing

	Ships.	Burthen. Tons.	Persons.	Cattle.
1621, August.	Sea-Flower	140	120	
	Flying-Hart	200	60	40
Novemb.	Discovery	60	20	
	Bona Nova	200	50	
	Hopewell	60	20	
1622, April.	Godspeed	150	100	
	Gift of God	140	100	
	Primrose	80	60	
	Charity	80	30	
	Bonaventure	50	10	
May.	White Lion	180	40	40
	Furtherance	180	80	
	Mary & John	160	80	
	James	120	80	

Supplies sent by the company to the Sommers Islands.

	Ships.	Burthen. Tons.	Persons.
1622, April.	Joseph	150	100
July.	James	150	80
August.	Concord	180	70

ing that the captain was assisting his companions to strike the sails, they rushed, suddenly, upon him, and pushed him overboard. Having seized a rope, the end of which lay floating on the ocean, he approached the ship's side, and was on the point of climbing up, when he received a blow, in consequence of which he fell backwards, and, thus rendered unable to regain his hold, soon perished amidst the waves. The other Turks, engaged in attention to their duty, were strangers to the calamity which befel their captain, nor suspected an insurrection from the English, until they observed that they were armed with cutlasses, which they had seized out of the cabin belonging to the master. After a feeble opposition, two of the pirates were slain; a third jumped overboard, and was drowned, whilst the remaining nine fled, for shelter, below the hatchways, and were immediately confined. Thus successful, the English directed their course to Saint Lucar, in Spain, where the Turks were sold to some of the principal inhabitants, and languished, afterwards, under that slavery which they had designed for others (n).

On the first of November, and in the same year, the *Nicholas*, of Plymouth, a ship of the burthen of forty tons, and commanded by John Rawlins, departed for the streights in company with the *Bonaventure*, of the same port, and of the burthen of seventy tons.

On the eighteenth, the English arrived within sight of Gibraltar, and discovered five ships in full sail towards them. In a short time, they came along side, hoisted Turkish colours, and attacked, and took the *Nicholas*, and the *Bonaventure*. The last vessel was

B 3 the

(n) Harris's Coll. Part 1. p. 370.—Lediard's naval history, V. 2. Folio. p. 466.

the prize of the admiral, who put on shore twelve of her crew, together with several Englishmen who had been made captives during a previous engagement. The vice-admiral, who took the Nicholas, directed that Rawlins, and five of his associates, should be brought on board of his ship, and that three Englishmen, and a boy, should remain in the prize, under the guard of thirteen Turks. Towards the close of the succeeding night, a dreadful tempest separated the vice-admiral ship from the Nicholas. On the twenty-second, the former, having Rawlins on board, entered the harbour of Algiers; and, on the twenty-sixth, the latter arrived within the road, when the prisoners were all conducted to the Bashaw, who chose the most robust, and healthy persons amongst the Englishmen, and gave orders that the rest should be sold, in the public market-place.

As Rawlins had lost the use of one hand, he was purchased by the captain, who took him, at a low price, and, soon afterwards, on account of his infirmity, sold, together with two of the crew belonging to the Nicholas, for a small sum, to one John Goodall, an English Renegado, who, with his associates, had purchased the Exchange, of Bristol, a ship formerly taken by the pirates, but then lying, unrigged, within the Mole, and not sufficiently manned for the purposes of a voyage.

On the seventh of January, in the year, one thousand, six hundred, and twenty two, the Exchange, which now mounted twelve guns, was intirely equipped, and departed on a cruise. On board, were sixty-three Turkish Moors, nine English slaves; and one Frenchman, and four Hollanders, who were free. To serve as gunners, the captain had procured two soldiers,

diers, the one an English, and the other a Dutch renegado.

Rawlins, to whom the loss of liberty was rendered doubly painful by the reflection that he had become the slave of one who drew his first breath within the land of Freedom, and should have disdained the thought of holding a fellow-subject in captivity, determined to avail himself of the first favourable opportunity to break loose from bondage. For this purpose, he had secretly procured ropes, iron crows, and all necessary implements, in order to close up the scuttles, gratings, and cabbins, and to secure the captain, and all his company. It was likewise agreed amongst his assistants, that, at a signal given, the English, being masters of the gun-room, should either blow their enemies up at once, or destroy them, as they issued from their cabbins. Rawlins, cautiously, and by degrees, discovered his intentions to the four Hollanders, who not only expressed their determination to join him, but brought over to his party the renegadoes, their countrymen, whilst the English prevailed also on the renegadoes of their nation to co-operate in the enterprize.

During the time that these plans were in agitation, Rawlins persuaded the captain, who had already passed the mouth of the streights, to steer his course northwards. On the sixteenth of February, the pirates seized a bark belonging to Torbay, and laden with salt. On board of this prize, (which had been cleared of all the crew, except a mate, and two mariners,) were placed ten Turks, together with the English, and the two Dutch renegadoes, who had promised to assist in the execution of the plot. Before they quitted the ship, Rawlins embraced an opportunity of assuring them that he should make his attempt, either during

that, or the succeeding night. He likewise informed them what signal would be given immediately previous to the opening of the enterprize, and strongly recommended to them that they should set every sail, and steer towards the English coast.

On the following morning, the prize was out of sight, and the captain of the Exchange, inflamed with rage at the conduct of those whom he had appointed to take care of her, insinuated that it was his determination to return immediately to Algiers. Rawlins was now convinced of the necessity of improving the present moment. He, therefore, informed the captain that much water was in the hold, but that it did not reach the pumps, because the ship had too deep a lading near the head. Deceived by this report, the latter gave orders that four guns should be removed towards the stern, and accordingly, two were placed in front of the binnacle, and two in the steerage. Rawlins, having procured as much powder as was necessary to prime the pieces, represented to the captain the expediency that, in order to right the ship, all hands should be employed at the pump. During this operation, he procured two lighted matches, and lest they should be discovered, secreted one within a can, and the other between two spoons. Soon afterwards, he discharged a gun, by the shot from which the binnacle was broken all to pieces. At this report, the English immediately assembled, and cleared the hold of the Moors, and Turks, who had been left below. The captain, and his adherents, now endeavoured to seize the English who were stationed between the decks; but so gallant, and effectual was their resistance, that several of the former were killed by the discharge of musquets, through the gratings, and the survivors cried out for mercy. They were directed by their conquer-

conquerors to go down singly into the hold, where (so criminally ungovernable was the rage of Rawlins, and his associates!) many were massacred, and the most intimidated, to avoid sharing the same fate, plunged at once into the ocean. Out of forty-five, no more than six were saved. Amongst these was the captain, who, together with his companions, was conveyed by Rawlins, and his brave adherents, to Plymouth, where they arrived, on the fifteenth of February, in the year, one thousand, six hundred, and twenty-two.

The Torbay bark arrived safely at Penzance, in Cornwall, and either so artful were the English, or such was the ignorance of the Turks, that the latter were persuaded that the vessel was sailing towards Algiers, until the day that they approached the shore. At this period, they attempted to resist, but were overpowered, and confined underneath the gratings. When the English had cast anchor, the Turks were landed, and afterwards sent, as prisoners, to Exeter (o).

During the course of this year, Sir Ferdinando Gorges, who had superintended the administration of affairs in New-England, reflecting on the extent of the bounds which had been fixed to the plantations in those parts, and the slow progress of all enterprizes for the establishment of colonies, suggested to Sir William Alexander, a member of the privy council, secretary of state for the kingdom of Scotland, and, afterwards, Earl of Stirling, the expediency, and advantage of introducing another settlement in that country. Accordingly, a patent was obtained, and a ship sailed, with colonists, for Nova Scotia, which place was to be holden by Sir William, of the crown of Scotland.

(o) Harris's Coll. Part. 1 p. 370.—Lediard's naval History, V. 2. Folio. p. 466, 467, 468.

Scotland, and governed by the laws peculiar to that kingdom.

The vessel, which had proceeded too late from England, was forced to winter at Newfoundland. At the commencement of the ensuing spring, the colonists renewed their voyage, and, having, on their arrival at the destined port, fixed on a spot proper for a settlement, returned to England, fully resolved to revisit the place at the beginning of the next year, and carry thither whatsoever might be necessary for the execution of their enterprizes.

Yet the affairs of this plantation were not prosperous; and, although several ships resorted thither from England, for the purpose of exchanging merchandize; yet neither the English, nor the Scotch, were able to introduce a settlement, and the French availing themselves of this circumstance, took possession of the country, and erected fortifications at Port-Royal, on the northern side of Funda Bay, and in forty-five degrees of north latitude. It is needless to acquaint the reader that this place was retaken by the English, and, afterwards, recovered by the French, who held it during some time (*p*).

We now proceed to a continuance of the relation of the affairs of Virginia. The rapid increase of population, and the long, and uninterrupted peace which, from the *Æra* of the marriage between Rolfe, and Pocahontas, had been observed by the Indians, and the colonists, proved the means of suggesting to the last, ideas of security as fatal as they were groundless. Accustomed to mix with the English at their entertainments.

(*p*) Harris's Coll. Part 1. p. 859.—British Empire in America, V. 1. p. 20.—Purchas's Pilgrims, V. 4. p. 1871.—Lediard's naval History, V. 2. Folio. p. 468.

tainments, to join in all their occupations, to enter their houses at discretion, to sleep with them under the same roof, and to examine, and use the various implements which they had brought from Europe, the Indians were not, at any period, strangers to their pursuits, and knew, almost without the trouble of inquiry, whether they were at home, or in the woods, in bodies, or dispersed, in a situation of defence, or totally unguarded. Grown expert in the management of fire-arms, they not only supposed themselves sufficiently formidable to contend against the colonists, but secretly wished for an opportunity to perpetrate the most violent and barbarous hostilities.

A melancholy event soon gave occasion to the indulgence of their wishes. An Indian, who had murdered his master, an European, was shot by two boys, the servants of the deceased. The whole race of Savages, fired with revenge, now determined to engage in a general massacre of the English, and, for the execution of their purposes, had fixed on the forenoon of the twenty-second of March, a time when the objects of their barbarity, working in their plantations, would be at once defenceless, and dispersed. This dreadful enterprize was to extend, in the same instant, to all the several settlements, excepting that which was situated on the eastern shore.

In the preceding afternoon, the savages, the more effectually to colour their designs, presented the English with deer, turkies, fish, and fruits, but borrowed their canoes, in which they crossed the river, for the purpose of advising with a neighbouring race of Indians, concerning the properest measures for the accomplishment of their execrable conspiracy. On the morning of the massacre, they mixed, unarmed, amongst the colonists, partook of their repasts, and pre-

preserved every feigned appearance of freedom, and of friendship. When the time approached for the perpetration of their design, they gradually withdrew, but, on a sudden, returned with hatches, axes, and fire-arms, and, rushing upon the English, without regard to either sex, or age, destroyed all who fell within their power. Some who made a brave, and early resistance, had the good fortune to escape.

In the list taken of the Christians who were murdered, during the course of that morning, the number amounted to three hundred, and forty-seven, most of whom died of wounds given with their own instruments, and working tools. The massacre would have been more general, but that the plot was providentially discovered, during the night, which preceded the execution of it, by a faithful Indian to his master, Mr. Pace. To this timely information, James-Town, and the neighbouring settlements, were indebted for their safety. The English were now become so exasperated against the savages that they prepared for open war, nor did they abstain from the commission of the most violent hostilities, until the nations concerned in the detested massacre had been totally extirpated (g).

The calamities by which Virginia was afflicted so terrified the majority of the surviving colonists, that a multitude of families retired hastily to the coasts of Carolina, and settled in the province of Mallica, near the head of the river of May, where they performed the offices of missionaries amongst the Mallicans, and the Apalachites, whose sovereign they are recorded to have baptized. Such was the occasion of the first English settlement, in these parts, but it was not until
a later

(g) Smith's general History of Virginia, p. 144.—Lediard's naval History, V. 2. Folio. p. 468, 469.

a later period that a regular system, either of polity, or of commerce, was introduced amongst the colonists (*r*).

In the year, one thousand, six hundred, and twenty-three, happened the dreadful massacre, at Amboyna. Of this, we shall present the reader with a full, and impartial relation, because (to borrow the language of a naval writer (*s*),) it gave birth to that hatred which the English had conceived against the Dutch; an hatred long in its duration, and fatal in its effects. By a treaty concluded between Great Britain, and the United Provinces, in the year, one thousand, six hundred, and nineteen, it was stipulated that the Dutch should enjoy two thirds, and the English one of the trade carried on at Amboyna. In pursuance of this agreement, factories were not only erected in that island, but in other places. The Dutch, who beheld with envy, and malevolence, the conveniencies of their situation, and the progress of their commerce, were determined instantly to pursue such measures as should effect the extirpation of the English. Accordingly, under pretence that a conspiracy was forming, they seized the chief persons in the factory, and, by torture, wrung from them a confession of crimes which they never had committed. This abandoned process was followed by the execution of a great number of the English; but the Dutch, under the specious shew of clemency, agreed to discharge the rest. They, notwithstanding, entered forcibly into possession of all the other factories belonging to the English, on the islands which produced spice, and thus monopolized

(*r*) British Empire in America, V. 1. p. 329.—Lediard's naval History, V. 2. Folio. p. 469.

(*s*) Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 34.

polized that valuable article of commerce. That these miserable victims to the avarice, and barbarity of their persecutors, were absolutely innocent, seemed evident from circumstances that could not be contested. The English had only few houses wherein their factories were established; but the Dutch had rendered themselves, by the construction of strong fortresses, too powerful to be resisted. The number of the English did not exceed twenty. In the castle belonging to the Dutch, were two hundred soldiers; and, within the harbour, rode eight large ships of war. At the place of execution, the prisoners protested solemnly that they were not guilty of the crimes which had been alledged against them, and, would have taken the sacrament on the truth of their assertions, but that the Dutch prevented them from receiving it (*t*).

To place this abominable transaction in the clearest point of view, we shall, first, transcribe an account which hath been delivered by a professed advocate for the Hollanders (*u*), and next, insert, with some necessary alterations, a narrative of proceedings, taken from the depositions of six English factors, whereof four were condemned, and pardoned, and the remaining two acquitted, at Amboyna. All of these were at their return, examined upon oath, in the English court of Admiralty.

“The island of Amboyna was, during a long time, the subject of dispute between the Dutch, and the English. The East-India company, who had made
“them-

(*t*) See a Pamphlet entitled “A true relation of the unjust, cruel, and barbarous proceedings against the English, at Amboyna,” published by authority. 1624. Quarto.

(*u*) M. Bafnage. *Annales des Provinces Unies*. V. 1. p. 129.—Coke’s *Detection of the Court, and state of England*, p. 96. 97.

" themselves the masters of it, entered into treaty
 " with the English, for the purpose of driving out the
 " Portuguese, and Spaniards; and by one of its arti-
 " cles, they agreed to furnish ten ships of war to
 " facilitate the execution of the enterprize. When
 " the necessary preparations for this armament were
 " neglected, the king of Ternate, taking an advantage
 " of the weakness which this omission had occasion-
 " ed, agreed to a suspension of arms with the Spani-
 " ards, and, forming an alliance with the king of Ti-
 " dore, the declared enemy of the Dutch, attacked the
 " several islands dependant on Amboyna. Having re-
 " duced them, he determined to direct his hostilities
 " against the citadel, and in this design, the English
 " are reported to have been concerned, and detected by
 " a Japanese. The governour heard from all quar-
 " ters that the English had taken possession of the cita-
 " del. Astonished at these reports, which were, not-
 " withstanding, false, he took measures for his de-
 " fence, and gave orders that the Japanese should be
 " apprehended, and brought before him. This man
 " confessed that the English were engaged in a conspi-
 " racy against the governor; that, during the ab-
 " sence of this officer, the citadel was to be seized,
 " and that the Japanese had promised to assist in the
 " execution of the design. The governour immedi-
 " ately arrested every individual who was charged with
 " having entered into the conspiracy. The English
 " confessed that their factor had obliged them to swear,
 " upon the gospel, that they never would reveal the
 " secret. They, notwithstanding, violated their oaths,
 " and signed their confessions, which, by some of
 " the criminals, were made freely, whilst the rest
 " felt themselves constrained thereto, by the violence
 " of the torture. They were all executed, and this
 " trans-

“ transaction is usually called the massacre of Amboyna. The English have always maintained that the crime was purely imaginary, and only made use of as a pretext to sacrifice some of their fellow subjects to the vengeance of a governour; and, therefore, they continued to demand satisfaction for this loss from the year, one thousand, six hundred, and twenty-three, to the year one thousand, six hundred, and seventy-two, when, such was the indifferent state of their affairs, that they were glad to relinquish their complaints.”

We now proceed to the second narrative. “ At the commencement of the year, one thousand, six hundred, and twenty-three, a most cruel scene was acted at Amboyna, one of the Sinder islands, lying near the Moluccas, in the East-Indies. A treaty had been concluded in the year, one thousand, six hundred, and nineteen, between England, and the United Provinces, by which it was determined that, in consideration of the severe losses, and enormous expences incurred by the Dutch, in turning the channel of trade in the islands of the Moluccas, Banda, and Amboyna, from the Spaniards, and Portuguese, they should enjoy two thirds of that commerce, whilst the English might keep possession of the remaining third.”

“ In pursuance of this agreement, English factories were established at the Moluccas, Banda, and Amboyna, the last of which is the principal place in the East-Indies, where grow the mace, nutmegs, cinnamon, and cloves. Scarcely had the English been settled at these islands, during two years, when the Dutch, in order to deprive them of their share in the spice-trade, pretended that they had engaged with the natives in a conspiracy, and that they had
“ formed

" formed a design of seizing the citadel, and forcing
 " all the garrison, together with every subject of the
 " United States to depart immediately for Europe. This
 " charge will be deemed the more absurd, when it is
 " reflected that only twenty English resided at Amboyna,
 " and that the Dutch had, under their command, a mi-
 " litary force consisting of two hundred soldiers, and,
 " likewise, eight powerful ships, at anchor within the
 " harbour. It is, here, necessary to premise that, on
 " the eleventh of February, a Japanese, who, during
 " the night, was walking on the rampart at Amboyna,
 " proposed to the Dutch sentinel some questions con-
 " cerning the strength of the castle, and the garrison
 " within it. His inquiries, so far from being criminal,
 " were not improper, as he wished to understand the
 " course of the military watches, and the strength of
 " that aid which he might expect, in case of any sud-
 " den attack in that quarter where, as a soldier, he
 " was accustomed to serve the Dutch. These barbari-
 " ans, who had long waited for a pretence to persecute
 " the English, availed themselves of this opportunity,
 " apprehended the Japanese, and by inflicting on him
 " the severest tortures, compelled him to declare that
 " he, together with a number of his countrymen, had
 " been engaged by all the English to assist in the intend-
 " ed reduction of the citadel. Soon afterwards,
 " others of the Japanese were imprisoned, stretched
 " upon the rack, and compelled to give such evidences
 " as the Dutch thought fit to dictate. A Portuguese,
 " the guardian of the slaves belonging to the citadel,
 " was also interrogated at the same time."

" During the examination, which lasted nearly four
 " days, the English went freely to the castle, and re-
 " ceived intelligence of these alarming measures, yet,
 " being conscious of their innocence, they made no

“ attempt to save themselves by flight. At this pe-
“ riod, Abel Price, the surgeon to the English factory;
“ being imprisoned in the castle, for having attempt-
“ ed, during a fit of intoxication, to set fire to an
“ edifice, inhabited by the Dutch, was informed that
“ the Japanese, who were brought before him, dan-
“ guishing under the effects of the cruelties which
“ they had endured, confessed that the English had en-
“ gaged in a conspiracy, for the purpose of taking pos-
“ session, by violence, of the castle; and he was also
“ threatened with punishments equally severe, unless
“ he made depositions to the same effect as those
“ which had been given by the Japanese. At first, he
“ persisted not only in declarations of his own inno-
“ cence, but affirmed that his associates were free from
“ their imputed guilt. On the fifteenth of February,
“ and when the torture was inflicted, his resolution
“ failed. He confessed to every question that was
“ asked.”

“ Captain Towerfon, and the rest of the English re-
“ siding within the town, were now sent for, and all,
“ except one, attended on the governour. He spoke in
“ general terms concerning the accusation which was
“ lodged against them, and then gave orders for their
“ imprisonment, until the day of trial. The Eng-
“ lishman who had absented himself, was next arrested,
“ at his own dwelling. His merchandize, together
“ with that of his associates, was taken into custody,
“ by inventory; and all the chests, boxes, books,
“ writings, and other articles, were carefully secured.
“ Captain Towerfon was committed a close prisoner to
“ his chamber, and strictly watched by a guard of
“ Dutch soldiers. Emanuel Thompson was detained
“ within the castle; and John Beaumont, Edward Col-
“ lins, William Webber, Ephraim Ramsay, Timothy
“ Johnson,

“ Johnson, John Fardo, and Robert Brown, the remaining seven, were sent on board of the Dutch ships, and immediately put in irons. On the same day, the governour dispatched an armed party to the two lesser factories in the same island, and gave orders for the apprehension of Colston, Clarke, and Sharrock, at Kitto; and of Collins, Webber and Sadler, at Larica. These, on the sixteenth, were brought, prisoners, to the castle. At the same time, three Englishmen were seized at Cambello, and three more at Loho, two small factories. On the twentieth, they arrived, in chains, at Amboyna.”

“ As, in order to shorten their excruciating tortments, the Japanese, and others declared their knowledge of incidents which never existed, it was imagined that the English, if exposed to the same cruelties, would unanimously confess that they had been guilty of the crimes alleged against them. Accordingly, their inhuman persecutors proceeded to inflict the torture. Each devoted victim was first obliged to suspend himself by his hands, from the top of a large, and lofty door. In this position, he was fastened by two Staples of Iron, when his arms were stretched out to an extent as great as could possibly be attained. His legs were next raised to the height of two feet, and distended, with equal violence, to a similar, and parallel distance. A cloth was now bound about his neck, and face, so closely that no water could glide down the outer side of it. Drops of water were then poured gently on his head, until the whole quantity which had fallen rose within the foldings of the cloth somewhat higher than his head. During this dreadful situation, it was impossible that he could draw breath, and not suck in the water, which, still trick-

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“ling down, forced the inward parts, gushed from his
“nose, ears, and eyes, and, at length, threw him in-
“to fainting fits. At this juncture, he was let down,
“and suffered to discharge the water from his sto-
“mach. When only slightly recovered, he again
“endured the same tormenting operations; and these
“were repeated until his eyes had started from their
“sockets, and his body became distended to an enor-
“mous size. If, still, his fortitude could rise superior
“to such excess of agony, and he disdained to pur-
“chase a relief from it, by unjustly loading either his
“countrymen, or himself with accusations, he was
“again drawn to bear anguish of a severer kind.
“Lighted candles were placed underneath his arm-
“pits, his elbows, the soles of the feet, and the
“palms of the hands. When the flame was extin-
“guished, by the melting matter dropping from the
“flesh, the candles were again lighted; nor did the
“barbarians admit a discontinuance of this horrid
“process, until the parts were burned nearly to the
“bone. Leading questions were now put to the dis-
“tracted sufferer, and such interpretations were given
“to his answers as rendered them adequate to the
“most ample confession of his guilt. He was now
“conveyed to a dark dungeon, where he remained,
“during five days, a miserable, and loathsome object,
“naked, debarred from the attendance of a surgeon,
“to dress his wounds, and scarcely supplied with nou-
“rishment sufficient for the preservation of his life.
“These execrable persecutors appear to have been
“skilled in all the wild varieties of cruelty; and we
“learn from the melancholy history of the wretched
“victims, that when their toes, and fingers had
“been slit, and their breasts deeply lanced, the wounded
“parts were filled with gunpowder, and set on fire.”

“Amongst

" Amongst the English, Collins, Johnson, Clark, and
 " Thompson, endured the various tortures to the last
 " extremity, and until they were seduced into a con-
 " fession of guilt which they had never practised, en-
 " couraged, or discovered. Brown, Collins, Wetherell,
 " Fardo, and others, were disarmed, at the expiration
 " of an hour, of that Christian fortitude with which
 " they had supported the excess of agony; and bore
 " testimony to the absurdest falsities. The rest, at
 " once intimidated by the sufferings of their associ-
 " ates, delivered an evidence as agreeable to the wishes
 " of their judges, as it was wide from truth. Yet,
 " the majority, at the time of their examination, whe-
 " ther before, or after the forced confession of a design
 " to seize the castle, protested that they were innocent,
 " and affirmed that by delivering depositions against
 " others, they had sacrificed all honesty, and friend-
 " ship, to their private feelings. When Colson, Grigs,
 " and Fardo, were brought forward, in order that they
 " might confront Towerfon, who solemnly asserted that
 " he was guiltless, they fell on their knees, and, after
 " having prayed to the SUPREME BEING for the par-
 " don of their sins, declared that their whole evidence
 " was false, and given only to escape from that terri-
 " ble, but undeserved punishment which had been in-
 " flicted on their companions. Yet, in the next mo-
 " ment, when these affrighted wretches were threaten-
 " ed with the torture, they renewed their affirma-
 " tions to all their former pretended confessions."

" It is, however, necessary to remark that all the
 " English who were sentenced to be executed (x), did,
 " from

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(x) Some, through the interest of their Dutch friends, re-
 ceived a pardon; and others, in consequence of the same
 mediation, were acquitted.

“ from that period, solemnly assert, on their hopes of
“ pardon, and salvation, that they, and those devoted
“ individuals whom they had accused, were not guilty
“ of the crimes for which they were to suffer. Thus,
“ at the end of this schedule, captain Towerfon writes;
“ (‘ I am not guilty of that which is laid to my charge,
“ and for which I am condemned to die.’) Grigs,
“ who had accused Towerfon, inserted within his ta-
“ ble-book, the following memorandum, which was
“ signed by himself, and by Beaumont, Price, and
“ Brown: (‘ By extreme torture, we have been con-
“ strained to utter what we never meant; and we take
“ it upon our deaths, that we perish guiltless of the
“ accusation which hath been laid to our charge.’)
“ the words of Colson are, (‘ On my salvation, and,
“ as I hope for redemption through JESUS CHRIST,
“ I am clear of that conspiracy for which I am to die,
“ neither do I know that any Englishman is the least con-
“ cerned in it.’) In one of his tablets, also, is the
“ following declaration, signed with his own name:
“ (‘ I have confessed that which, (as I hope for ever-
“ lasting mercy, is false; and I was compelled, for
“ fear of torment, to give an unjust evidence against
“ captain Towerfon, who (I do most solemnly declare,
“ as I hope, hereafter, to meet with pardon for my
“ sins,) is as ignorant of this conspiracy as a child
“ unborn.’) All these writings were preserved; but
“ other attestations, to the same purport, (and, parti-
“ cularly, that of captain Towerfon, who was observed
“ to make several minutes, during his imprisonment,)
“ were suppressed by the Dutch.”

“ On the twenty-sixth of February, all the English
“ under sentence of death, except Towerfon, and
“ Thompson, were led into the hall belonging to the
“ castle, and directed to prepare for execution. Im-
“ mediately

"mediately on their appearance, the Japanese cried
 "out; ('O, ye English! when did we ever eat, or talk
 "with you?') To which they answered; ('Why
 "then have you accused us?') These artless savages
 "then discovered their tortured bodies, and, with a
 "peculiar eloquence, exclaimed, ('Ah! if a stone
 "had been thus burning amidst the flames; would it
 "not have changed its nature! How much sooner
 "then must we change our nature, who are but flesh,
 "and blood.') When the Dutch ministers visited the
 "ten Englishmen who were standing in the hall, they
 "exhorted them, as the remainder of their lives
 "would necessarily be short, to make a full, and true
 "confession. Still these unhappy victims persisted
 "in their innocence, and desired that they might re-
 "ceive the sacrament, as a confirmation of their pro-
 "fessions, and as a seal of the pardon of their sins;
 "but this favour was refused. When the preacher
 "observed to the English that the clearer they were
 "from guilt, the greater would be their reward,
 "Colson delivered to him his purse, and besought him
 "to exhort the governour to repent of that bloody
 "tragedy, in which he, and his associates had been
 "the unrelenting actors. At this moment, the Eng-
 "lish declared that the words which Colson had last ut-
 "tered coincided with their own sentiments. When
 "Fardo charged all his countrymen, as they should an-
 "swer for their sincerity, at the judgment-seat of the
 "ALMIGHTY, to confess truly, and for the satisfac-
 "tion of the world, whether they were innocent;
 "Colson answered; ('If I be guilty of it, more, or
 "less, let me never be a partaker of the joys of hea-
 "ven.') It was now that the others cried out
 "('Amen! for me, GOOD LORD!') They next re-
 "quested forgiveness of each other, on account of

“ those false accusations which had been extorted from
 “ them, either by the dread of punishment, or the
 “ horrible severity with which it was inflicted. Each
 “ freely pardoned his associate; for no individual was
 “ falsely accused, but he himself had falsely accused an-
 “ other. The following night was spent, by the Eng-
 “ lish, in prayer, in singing of psalms, and adminis-
 “ tering comfort to each other, whilst the Dutch
 “ guards, with the most brutal mockery, and inso-
 “ lence, would have presented them with full cups of
 “ wine, out of which they bade them drink, and giv-
 “ ing a loose to merriment, and intoxication, set their
 “ miseries at defiance.”

“ On the twenty-seventh of February, being the
 “ day appointed for the execution, the condemned
 “ persons first requested John Powle, and, afterwards,
 “ all who had been either acquitted, or pardoned, to
 “ bear witness to their friends in England, of their
 “ innocence, and that they were absolutely murdered
 “ by the Dutch; for the pardon of whom they should
 “ pray to GOD, and trusted that HE would vouchsafe
 “ to extend his mercy to their souls.”

“ When the English had been conducted to the place
 “ of execution, (not by the nearest, and common
 “ way, but in procession around the town,) they
 “ severally declared on oath that they were free from
 “ their imputed guilt, and then cheerfully submitted
 “ to the last, and fatal punishment. The persons exe-
 “ cuted were Mr. Towerfon, agent to the English, at
 “ Amboyna; Colson, Thompson, Johnson, Wetherell,
 “ Clark, Grigs, Fardo, Price, and Brown. With these,
 “ suffered one Perez, a native of Portugal, who swore
 “ upon the cross, that he was innocent; and, likewise,
 “ nine Japanese, who solemnly exculpated themselves,
 “ amidst all the ceremonies prescribed by their reli-
 “ gion,

"gion, and implored heaven to forgive their prosecutions."

"On the day following, the new Dutch general sent Beaumont, Sharrock, and Webber, the four who had been pardoned, to different factories. Even the Hollanders did not relinquish their oppressions, but forcibly took possession of the English settlements at Seran, Pooleroon, and the other neighbouring islands. Thus, did they become almost entirely enabled to monopolize the spice-trade, in those Parts."

We shall remark, nearly in the words of a naval writer (y), (to whose researches we are so frequently indebted,) that it is indeed strange that, considering the maritime strength of the English at the time when they received this insult, and the quick sense which they have always entertained of any national affront, no proper satisfaction was procured, nor any vigorous measures entered into, for the purpose of exacting it. But the wonder will, in a great measure, cease, when we reflect on the state of the crown, and of the people, at that period. The king had been engaged, during many years, in a tedious, base, and disgusting negotiation, for the accomplishment of a marriage between his son Charles, and a princess of the royal family of Spain. To the chimerical advantages which he proposed to reap from this connexion, had he sacrificed the interests of his house, the glory of his government, and the affections of his people. Yet his endeavours were unsuccessful; and he was, at length, compelled to break off the treaty abruptly, and to think of preparing for the commencement of hostilities; a situation from which he had always been much, and criminally averse, but, particularly, at the close of his

(y) Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 37.

his life, and reign. Such was the posture of affairs, when the bloody scene was acted, at Amboyna; and therefore, although it had excited a general spirit of resentment, and occasioned severe expostulations with the republic, yet the attention of the crown to the proposed war, with Spain, and its concern for the recovery of the Palatinate, joined to the necessity that the Dutch should be cautiously applied to, at so critical a juncture, prevented the English court from proceeding farther than remonstrances, whilst the United States preserved exclusively a lucrative, and important branch of commerce.

The historian adds that he hath taken the more pains to decide the point, because it is full proof of a truth which ought never to be forgotten; domestic dissensions are particularly fatal to the English, as a trading nation; and it is impossible for them to maintain their commerce in a flourishing condition, if they do, not, at least, enjoy peace, and with it, unanimity at home, howsoever unfavourable their affairs may prove abroad (z).

On the seventeenth of February, in the year, one thousand, six hundred, and twenty-three, Charles, prince of Wales, attended by the earl of Buckingham, set sail for Spain, on a visit to the Infanta. The fleet which, on this occasion, was equipped to be his convoy, consisted of eight men of war, and two pinnaces, under the command of the earl of Rutland. The only advantage which resulted from this short voyage was a faint, but just idea which the prince was enabled to conceive of maritime affairs. An inquiry concerning the transactions at the court of Madrid, is foreign to our subject. Be it sufficient to remark that, on the ninth of September, Charles took leave of the Infanta, and

(z) Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 38.

and disembarked, towards the conclusion of the month, at the isles of Scilly.

Notwithstanding that it is difficult to ascertain the time when the English first settled at Barbadoes, yet, as the event was previous to the demise of James, it cannot be improper to place it towards the conclusion of this reign. That the island had been visited by the English at a period which preceded the commencement of the year, one thousand, six hundred, and twenty-five, appears from an act, passed, during the course of the year, one thousand, six hundred, and sixty-six, in the assembly of Barbadoes, for the better ascertaining of the laws of that island. Herein, it is observed that all acts confirmed by any governour and counsellour, president, and council, by virtue of any commission from James, or Charles, the First, &c. &c.

Thus far it is certain; that about the year, one thousand, six hundred, and twenty-four, a ship, belonging to Sir William Curteen, and, on her passage from Fernambuco, in Brasil, was driven, by stress of weather, on this coast, which had been mentioned, by Ligon, as the most windwardly island of the Caribbes, Tobago only excepted (a).

That the ship touched at this island, about the year, one thousand, six hundred and twenty-four, may be concluded (to borrow the opinion of a naval writer (b),) for the following reasons. It is evident that no Englishman could sail to Brazil, but under the protection of the Dutch West-India company the Spaniards, and Portuguese, having made it an invariable rule

(a) Tobago is observed to lie in eleven degrees, and sixteen minutes of north latitude; and is above a degree nearer to the line than Barbadoes.

(b) Lediard's naval History, V. 2. Folio. p. 473.

rule to inflict death on such strangers as should adventure amongst them, on that part of the continent.

Although the Dutch West-India company, after the expiration of the truce between Philip, the third, king of Spain, and the crown of Portugal, began, by permission of the States-General, to trade thither, yet they never sent any fleet, until the commencement of the year, one thousand, six hundred, and twenty-four, previous to which period, it cannot be imagined that the English would have ventured to Brasil, the Dutch not having established any settlement; and as king James died, in the year, one thousand, six hundred, and twenty-five, it is natural to conclude that, during the course of the preceding year, the ship belonging to Sir William Curteen, arrived at Barbadoes.

Whether Sir William was on board, or what rank, exclusive of knighthood, he held in life, are points which cannot be determined. Ligon hath only observed that a vessel, belonging to Sir William Curteen, was driven near the coast, and cast anchor before it. The crew landed, and, during some time, examined the situation of the place, which was incumbered with wood, where no animal could be discovered, except hogs, that had been left there by the Portuguese, from whom the island received its name (c).

On their return home, the English delivered a full, and favourable report of the discoveries which they had made; and soon afterwards, several noblemen, and others made preparation for the establishment of a colony on the island. Men were now sent thither in vessels, freighted with provisions, and working tools, for the purpose of cutting down the woods, clearing

(c) *Los Barbados*; a Portuguese Term, and probably allusive to the barbarity of the inhabitants.

clearing the ground, and forwarding the various arts of agriculture.

Amongst the several adventurers, William, Earl of Pembroke, was the chief. Under his patronage, the colony was established, and a captain Cannon, whom he had recommended, presided over it with the rank of governour. The first planters were, notwithstanding, obliged to abandon their settlements, or hold them of the earl of Carlisle, who obtained a grant of the island from the crown (*d*).

At this period, also, preparations were made, at the expence of Mr. Ralph Marifield, and his associates, for the establishment of a colony, at the island of Saint Christopher. It was determined that this enterprise should be conducted by captain Warner, a person of strict integrity, active passions, and extensive knowledge. On the twenty-eighth of January, in the year, one thousand, six hundred, and twenty-four, he approached the place, attended only by fifteen persons; William Tested, John Rhodes, Robert Bims, William Benifield, Serjeant Jones, Mr. Ware, William Ryle, Rowland Grasscock, Mr. Bond, Mr. Langley, Mr. Weaver, Edward Warner; (the son of the captain,) Serjeant Aplon, a sailor, and a Cook.

At their arrival, they found three Frenchmen, who, at first, not only opposed the English, but endeavoured to persuade the Indians to take arms against them. In a short time, all parties became reconciled, and lived together. At length, the English constructed a fort, raised houses, and planted fruits. At the commencement of September, their crop of tobacco bore a plentiful

(*d*) British Empire in America, V. 2.—Lediard's naval History, V. 2. Folio. p. 473, 474.

tiful appearance ; but, on the nineteenth of the month, it was destroyed, during the violence of a hurricane. For this space of time, Warner, and his associates subsisted on fish, Cassado Bread, potatoes, plantains, pines, guanoes, and turtles.

On the eighteenth of March, in the year, one thousand, six hundred, and twenty-five, captain Jefferson, and three passengers, arrived in the Hopewell, of London, which was freighted with those slight articles of commerce that were the most likely to captivate the attention of the Indians. The English now reaped a large crop of tobacco ; and, with it, captain Warner returned to England, leaving on the island his associates, at that period, deserted by the French, who formed a settlement apart from all the rest (e).

In the spring of this year, the king fell sick of a tertian ague, and when the flattering courtiers, recurring to the proverb, observed that, during that Season, the disease was health for a monarch, he, calmly, and with a smile, replied that, by the expression, was understood a young monarch. When rendered feeble by the repetition of his fits, he prepared for death with a religious fortitude, and, on the twenty-seventh of March, expired, in the twenty-third year of his reign, and the fifty-ninth year of his age. The character of a prince who was pacific even to a degree of Pusillanimity, would appear foreign to the subject of this work ; yet, in justice to his memory, it is necessary to remark, and prove that he was at once the zealous patron of the navy, and the liberal encourager of commerce.

It

(e) Collection of voyages, V. 2. p. 361.—Lediard's naval History, Folio. V. 2. p. 474.

ILLUSTRIOUS SEAMEN, &c. 47

It is on record (f) that during the reign of this prince, nine ships were added to the royal navy. An accurate historian (g) hath concluded that the list must be defective, because no mention is made of the largest vessel, built at this period; and built also in consequence of an express order from the sovereign. As the account is equally authentic, and exact, it may be proper that we should present it to the reader.

"In the year, one thousand, six hundred, and ten, the king built a most goodly ship for war, the keel whereof was one hundred, and fourteen feet long; and the cross-beam was forty-four feet, in length. She will carry sixty-four pieces of great ordnance, and is of the burthen of fourteen hundred tons. This royal ship is double built, and is most sumptuously adorned, within, and without, with all manner of curious carving, painting, and rich gilding, being, in all respects, the greatest, and goodliest ship, that ever was built in England. This glorious ship, the king gave unto his son, Henry, prince of Wales. On the twenty-fourth of September, the king, the queen,

(f) A List of SHIPS built, in consequence of an order from KING JAMES, the First *.

SHIPS.	MEN in HARBOUR.	MEN at SEA.
The Reformation	9	250
Happy Entrance	7	160
Garland	7	160
Saint George	9	250
Mary Rose	6	120
Triumph	12	300
Swiftsure	9	250
Bonaventure	7	160
Saint Andrew	9	250

* Sir William Monson's naval Tracts, p. 277.
(g) Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 43.

“queen, the prince of Wales, the duke of York, and
 “the lady Elizabeth, with many great lords, went
 “unto Woolwich, to see it launched, but, because of
 “the narrowness of the dock, it could not then be
 “launched; whereupon the prince came, the next
 “morning, by three o’clock, and then, at the launch-
 “ing thereof, the prince named it after his own dig-
 “nity, and call it The Prince. The great work-
 “master in building of this ship, was master Phineas
 “Pet, some time master of arts, of Emanuel College,
 “in Cambridge (*h*).

From the same authority (*i*), we learn that the king
 went on board of a large East-India ship, of the bur-
 then of twelve hundred tons, which was built in Eng-
 land, and appears to have been the first vessel of that
 size, launched within the kingdom. James called it
 The Trade’s Increase, and gave, also, to a pinnace, of
 the burthen of two hundred, and fifty tons, which was
 built at the same time, the name of the Pepper-Corn.
 This circumstance is confirmed by the following pas-
 sage, from a contemporary writer (*k*). “Our East-
 “India merchants have lately built a goodly ship, of
 “the burthen of more than twelve hundred tons, to
 “the launching whereof the king, and prince were
 “invited, and had a bountiful banquet. The king
 “graced Sir Thomas Smith, the governour, with a
 “chain, in the manner of a collar, of more value
 “than two hundred pounds, with his picture hanging
 “at it, and put it about his Neck, with his own hands,
 “naming the great ship, The Trade’s increase; and the
 “Prince, a pinnace, of the burthen of two hundred,
 “and

(*h*) Stowe’s Annals, continued by Howes, p. 996.—
 Camden’s Annals of the reign of James, A. D. 1610.

(*i*) Stowe’s Annals, p. 994.

(*k*) Winwood’s Memorials, V. 3. p. 118.

"and fifty tons, (built to wait upon her,) The Pepper-Corn."

These circumstances alone would indicate how assiduously the king attended to the maintenance of a respectable marine establishment. Let it be added (that we may place his conduct on these occasions, in the fairest point of view,) that the new ships were builded in the course of five years, preceding the year, one thousand six hundred and twenty-three; and that fifty thousand pounds were annually set apart for the expences of the fleet, exclusive of the value of thirty-six thousand pounds in timber, which was granted, every year, from the royal forests (*l*). Whensoever the exigencies of the state required that such a measure should be embraced, the vessels belonging to the merchants were instantly converted into ships of war. Thus, it is apparent that throughout a reign when peace was anxiously cultivated, and uninterruptedly preserved, the English fleet became formidable in the Eyes of all Europe; and even James, the passive James had effected the establishment of a formidable maritime equipment, and, with pleasure, assured his parliament, that the navy had not, at any preceding period, been in so excellent a condition (*m*).

A discerning naval writer (*n*) observes that although he cannot exactly ascertain the additions which were made to the royal fleet, by this prince, yet, from an inspection of some authentic calculations, he will venture to affirm that the ships of war, belonging to Elizabeth at the time of her decease might include somewhat more than sixteen thousand tons; and that, during the reign of James, they amounted to more

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than

(*l*) Parl. Journ. 11. Mar. 1623.

(*m*) Parl. Hist. V. 6. p. 93.

(*n*) Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 44.

than twenty thousand tons^(o). To this account, we shall subjoin that the navy of England, which was a terror to its enemies, when Elizabeth filled the throne, amounted (exclusive of pinnaces,) to thirty-three ships^(p), the largest of which was not equal to a fourth rate man of war, in the present *Æra* ^(q), ^(r).

It may, in this place, be necessary to observe, from a respectable authority^(s), that, under the public spirited administration of Elizabeth, the English first acquired a competent idea of the benefits of an extensive commerce, and appeared determined to take upon themselves the management of their own trade, which, until that *Æra*, had rested almost exclusively in the hands of foreigners. During the continuance of the war with Spain, the commercial conduct of the merchants was unexceptionable. In so true a spirit of patriotism, did they prosecute their private advantage, that it proved likewise, of public utility, by increasing the number of seamen, and of powerful vessels, belong-

(o) This calculation is taken from a manuscript containing notes on Hackluyt's voyages.

(p) Coke's Institut. B. 4. C. 1.—Consultation in parliament for the navy.

(q) Sir Walter Raleigh (in whose opinion no ships of war should ever have been built larger than of the burthen of six hundred tons,) observes, in his discourse concerning the invention of shipping, that the fleet, during the twenty-fourth year of the reign of Elizabeth, consisted only of thirteen ships, which were afterwards augmented by eleven. Mr. Hume remarks that Sir Walter probably reckoned some to be pinnaces, which Coke called ships.

(r) James also granted a commission of inquiry, for the reformation of abuses in the navy, the proceedings upon which are still preserved.—M. S. in Bibl. Cott. Vitellius. E. 8.

(s) Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 39.

belonging to the kingdom. After the accession of James, and the establishment of peace, this rational line of action was removed for one more novel, and surprizing. The English traders were conscious of the great advantage which resulted from the use of large, and stout ships, but instead of building such, deemed it sufficient to put cargoes on board of those belonging to their neighbours, and that, because, in consequence of this method, the expence was rendered, in a small degree, less burdensome. Thus did the English shipping decay, in proportion as the trade increased; until, the year, one thousand, six hundred, and fifteen, this absurd policy was attended by such alarming consequences, that the port of London did not possess even vessels of the burthen of two hundred tons. The Trinity House now, presented a petition to the king, setting forth the matters of fact, and the dreadful effects which must ensue with regard to the naval power of the state, through the decay of seamen, and praying that he would put into execution some old, and wholesome laws, which were calculated for the redress of this evil; suggesting, at the same time, the example of the state of Venice, that, on a like occasion, had prohibited their subjects from transporting any goods, in foreign bottoms. At this particular period the merchants unanimously opposed the Trinity House, and, as their interest was more firmly established at the court, prevailed against it. Yet, previous to the expiration of the year, opinions began to change, and these merchants convinced of their error, set their hands to the Petitions of the mariners. An extraordinary circumstance produced this fortunate effect. Two ships, each of the burthen of three hundred tons, and the property of Dutch merchants, residing at London, entered the river Thames, laden with Currants,

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and cotton. The eyes of all the English traders were immediately opened. They now perceived that in consequence of their wilful errors, they had returned to the very point from which they set out, and that if some bold, and effectual remedy was not immediately applied, the English commerce would be gradually driven again by Aliens, on foreign bottoms. They instantly drew up a representation of this evil, and presented it to the king, in council. A proclamation was now issued, which forbid any native of the kingdom, either to export, or import goods, unless they were in English bottoms (1).

When men become habituated to a course of industry, the resulting benefits will make them persist in a determination not to wander from it, and even the difficulties which, at first, oppose them, will, at length, turn to their advantage. Thus when the English merchants had constructed, and furnished with artillery, and all necessary stores, a convenient number of large ships within their own ports, they found themselves in a condition to launch into many trades which were before unthought of; and, although, during some time, they were exposed to the depredations of the Algerines, and other pirates of Barbary, yet, in the end, they rose superior to these misfortunes, and embraced the resolution of building still larger vessels, and of adding to the crews, and stores of those which were of smaller burthen. So fortunate were the consequences of this proceeding, in the space of seven years, that, whereas ships of the burthen of one hundred tons were reckoned extremely large vessels, and were generally built, and brought from beyond the seas, so now, there

(1) Sir William Monson's naval tracts, p. 328.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 40.

there were several merchantmen, of the burthen of three, four, or five hundred tons, belonging to different ports, and more than an hundred ships, each of above the burthen of two hundred tons, belonging to Newcastle, alone; all buildd at home, and better built than they could possibly have been elsewhere. Previous to the death of king James, the English trade was so far increased, that (if we can rely on the sentiments of the discerning Sir William Monson,) Great Britain, was very little, if at all inferior, in maritime force, to the states of Holland (*u*).

In the course of this inquiry relative to the state of commerce, during the reign of James, we must again avail ourselves of the indefatigable researches of a late celebrated historian (*x*), who remarks that the parliament entered continually into grievous lamentations concerning the decay of trade, and the increase of popery: such violent propensities have men to murmur at the present times, and harbour discontent against their fortune, and condition. These popular complaints made a deep impression upon the king, who, notwithstanding, was unable to account for that want of money, which had been so much exaggerated (*y*). Judiciously is it affirmed (*z*) that a more sensible augmentation of the advantages which distinguish a flourishing people did not exist at any period prior to the reign of James, the first. The peace which he maintained proved favourable to the interests of com-

D 3 merce;

(*u*) Stowe's Annals, p. 994.—Sir William Monson's naval Tracts, p. 329—550.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 41.

(*x*) Mr. Hume.

(*y*) Rymer's Fœdera, V. 17. p. 413.

(*z*) Hume's History of England, 8vo. V. 6. Appendix, p. 180.

merce; his natural temper led him to the cultivation of the gentler arts; and, as trade remained yet in its infancy, all additions to it must have been the more evident to those who were not blinded by melancholy prejudices (a).

In Justice to an historian (b) who, on most occasions, is too candid to engage in misrepresentations, we shall select two passages in support of the naval, and commercial prosperity of this Æra. "The great
" blessings of GOD, through increase of wealth, in
" the common subjects of this land, and especially
" upon the citizens of London, are such, within the
" memory of man, and, chiefly, within these few
" years of peace, that unless there were now due men-
" tion of some sort made thereof, it would, in time
" to come be held incredible."—"Amongst the mani-
" fold tokens and signs of the infinite blessings of
" ALMIGHTY GOD, bestowed upon this kingdom,
" by the wonderful, and merciful establishment of
" peace within ourselves, and the full benefit of con-
" cord with all Christian nations, and others: of all
" which graces let no man dare to presume that he
" can speak too much; whereof, in truth, there can
" never be enough said; neither was there ever any
" people less considerate, and less thankful than at this
" time, being not willing to endure the memory of
" their present happiness, as well as in the universal
" increase of commerce, and traffic, throughout the
" kingdom, great building of royal ships, and of ves-
" sels by private merchants, the Re-peopling of cities,
" towns, and villages, beside the discernible, and
" sudden increase of fair, and costly buildings, as well
" within

(a) Hume's History of England, 8vo. V. 6. Appendix, p. 180.

(b) Stowe.

"within the city of London, as the suburbs thereof, and especially within these twelve years."

A performance (c) which carries with it a strong appearance of authenticity, fixes all the mariners employed in the service of the merchants, at the number of ten thousand persons. Sir Thomas Overbury (d) observes that the Dutch possessed three times more shipping than the English, but that their vessels were of inferior burthen to those of the latter. We have already remarked that Sir William Monson (e) supposed the naval power of the English to be scarcely inferior to that of the states of Holland. Let it now be added that a discerning investigator (f) concludes this to be an exaggerated declaration. The Dutch, at this *Æra*, traded to England with six hundred ships. The English traded to Holland with only sixty ships (g).

It hath been remarked (h) that the catalogue of manufactures for which the English were eminent, during the reign of James, would appear exceedingly contemptible in comparison of those which flourish amongst them, at the present period. The generality of the more elaborate, and curious arts, were only cultivated abroad, and particularly in Italy; shipping, and the founding of iron cannon were the sole arts in which the English excelled. They seem indeed to have possessed alone the secret of the latter; and great

D 4 com-

(c) "The Trade's Increase." Harleian Misc. V. 3.

(d) "Remarks on his travels." Harl. Misc. V. 2.

P. 349.

(e) Naval Tracts, p. 329, 350.

(f) Hume's History of England, 8vo. V. 6. Appendix, p. 181.

(g) Raleigh's Remains.

(h) Hume's History of England, 8vo. V. 6. Appendix, p. 181.

complaints were made, at the meeting of every parliament, against the exportation of English ordnance.

Nine tenths of the commerce of the kingdom consisted in woollen-goods (*i*): wool was, notwithstanding, allowed to be exported until the nineteenth year of the reign of James. The exportation of it was then forbidden by proclamation; yet the edict was never strictly executed. Most of the cloth was exported raw, and was dyed, and dressed by the Dutch, who (as it is pretended,) gained, annually, by this manufacture, seven hundred thousand pounds (*k*). An illustrious historian (*l*) makes the loss incurred by the nation amount to four hundred thousand pounds. He remarks that about eighty thousand undressed cloths were exported yearly, and computes, without mentioning other articles, that the national loss, by kerfies, bordered on a hundred thousand pounds, a year (*m*). An edict issued by the king, and forbidding the exportation of cloth, in its raw state, had succeeded so ill, during one year, in consequence of the refusal of the Dutch to buy the dressed cloth, that great murmurs arose against it. The measure was retracted by the king, and complained of by the nation, as impolitic to a criminal excess. It is allowed that it appears to have been premature (*n*).

At so low an estimation, even within the kingdom, was the fine English cloth, that James was reduced to the necessity of seeking expedients, by which he might en-

(*i*) Parl. Journ. 26th May, 1621.

(*k*) Ibid. 20th May, 1614.

(*l*) Sir Walter Raleigh's observations.

(*m*) Mr. Hume imagined that the account of two hundred thousand cloths, exported yearly during the reign of Elizabeth, appeared to be exaggerated.

(*n*) Hume's history of England, 8vo. V. 6. Appendix, p. 182.

engage the people of fashion to wear it (*o*). The manufacture of fine linen was totally unknown within the nation (*p*).

The company of merchant-adventurers, possessed, in virtue of their patent, the sole commerce of woollen goods, notwithstanding that they formed the staple commodity of the nation. An attempt was made, during the reign of Elizabeth, to lay open this important trade, and, for a time, had been attended with bad consequences, by a conspiracy of the merchant-adventurers, not to make any purchases of cloth. The queen, therefore, immediately restored their patent (*q*).

Justly is it observed (*r*), that a groundless fear of the like accident enslaved the nation to those exclusive companies which so much confined every branch of commerce, and of industry. The parliament, notwithstanding, annulled, in the third year of the reign of James, the patent of the Spanish company; and the trade to Spain, which was, at first, extremely insignificant, soon became the most considerable in the kingdom. The historian (*s*) adds that it is strange that they were not thence encouraged to abolish all the other companies, and that they went no farther than obliging them to enlarge their bottom, and to facilitate the admission of new adventurers.

In the Year, one thousand, six hundred, and twenty-two, the king erected a board of trade. One of the reasons assigned in the commission is the necessity of
intro-

(*o*) Rymer's *Fœdera*, V. 17. p. 415.

(*p*) *Ibid.*

(*q*) Hume's *History of England*, V. 6. 8vo. Appendix, p. 182.

(*r*) *Ibid.*

(*s*) Hume's *History of England*, V. 6. 8vo. Appendix, p. 183.

introducing a remedy to the low price of wool, which begat complaints of the decay of the woollen manufactory (*t*). Mr. Hume deems it more probable that this fall of prices proceeded from the increase of wool; and, (after having observed that the king likewise recommends it to the commissioners, to inquire, and examine whether a greater freedom of trade, and an exemption from the restraint of exclusive companies, would not be beneficial,) adds that men were then fettered by their own prejudices, and that James was justly afraid of embracing a bold measure, the consequences of which might be uncertain. The digesting of a navigation-act, similar in its nature to that famous act which was executed, afterwards, by the Republican parliament, is likewise, recommended to the commissioners. With too much reason, it is observed that the arbitrary powers which, during that Epoch, were commonly assumed by the privy-council, appeared evidently throughout the whole tenour of their commission (*u*).

The silk manufacture was not established in England. In consequence of an order from the king, mulberry-trees were planted, and silk-worms introduced. To the success of such measures, the climate proved unfavourable. The plantations of hops, in England, had increased considerably during this reign (*x*).

Of the discovery of Greenland, the establishment of the whale-fishery, and the incorporation of a company for the purpose of exploring a north-west passage, we have already treated. The late spirited
at-

(*t*) Rymer's *Fœdera*, V. 17. p. 410.

(*u*) Hume's *History of England*, 8vo. V. 6. Appendix, p. 183.

(*x*) Stowe.

attempts to render this last enterprize less fruitless, appear almost to have weakened the necessity of introducing a beautiful, and just remark: "In such noble projects, Despair ought never to be admitted, until the absolute impossibility of Success, can be fully ascertained (y)."

The exports of England, from Christmas, of the year, one thousand, six hundred, and twelve, to Christmas, of the year, one thousand, six hundred, and thirteen, are computed at two millions, four hundred, and eighty-seven thousand, four hundred, and thirty-five pounds. The imports are computed at two millions, one hundred, and forty-one thousand, one hundred, and fifty-one pounds: The balance in favour of England was three hundred, and forty-six thousand, two hundred, and eighty-four pounds (z). In the year, one thousand, six hundred, and twenty-two, the exports were computed at two millions, three hundred, and twenty thousand, four hundred, and thirty-six pounds. The imports were computed at two millions, six hundred, and nineteen thousand, three hundred, and fifteen pounds. The balance against England was two hundred, and ninety-eight thousand, eight hundred, and seventy-nine pounds (a). The coinage of England from the year, one thousand five hundred, and ninety-nine, to the year, one thousand six hundred, and nineteen, amounted to four millions, seven hundred, and seventy-nine thousand, three hundred, and fourteen pounds, thirteen shillings, and four pence (b). Hence, it appears that, in the main, the balance was considerably in favour of the kingdom. As the annu-

(y) Hume's History of England, V. 6. 8vo. Appendix, p. 184.

(z) Misselden's Circle of Commerce, p. 121.

(a) Id. Ibid.

(b) Happy future State of England, p. 78.

annual imports, and exports, rose together nearly five millions, and the customs never yielded so much as two hundred thousand pounds, a year, of which tonnage made a part; it seems that the new rates affixed by James, did not, on the whole, amount to one shilling in the pound, and, consequently, were still inferior to the intention of the original grant of parliament. The East-India company usually carried out a third of their cargo, in commodities (*c*). The trade to Turkey was one of the most advantageous to the nation (*d*). In this reign, also, copper half-pence, and farthings were coined (*e*). Tradesmen in general had carried on their retail business, chiefly by means of leaden tokens. The small silver penny was soon lost, and, at this period, was no where to be found (*f*).

The amount of the royal revenue, as it stood in the year, one thousand, six hundred, and seventeen, is thus stated (*g*); of crown lands, eighty thousand pounds a year. By customs, and new impositions, nearly an hundred, and ninety thousand pounds, annually. By wards, and other various branches of the revenue, exclusive of purveyance, an hundred, and eighty thousand pounds, a year. The whole amounted to four hundred, and fifty thousand pounds. In the same account, the ordinary disbursements of the king are mentioned as exceeding this sum, by thirty-six thousand pounds (*h*). All the extraordinary sums which

(*c*) Mann's Discourse on the East-India Trade, p. 16.

(*d*) Ibid. p. 17.

(*e*) Anderson's History of Commerce.

(*f*) Hume's History of England, 8vo. V. 6. Appendix, p. 186.

(*g*) Abstract, or brief Declaration of his majesty's Revenue, with the assignments, and defalcations upon the same.

(*h*) The excess was formerly greater, as appears from the account, by the earl of Salisbury.—Hume's History of England, 8vo. Appendix, p. 171.

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which James had raised by subsidies, loans, sale of the title of baronet, money paid by the States, and by the king of France, together with benevolences, were, in the whole, about two millions, and two hundred thousand pounds, of which the sale of lands afforded seven hundred, and seventy-five thousand pounds. The extraordinary disbursements of the king amounted to two millions, exclusive of more than four hundred thousand pounds, which were given in presents. On the whole (to use the language of a celebrated writer,) a sufficient reason appears, partly from unnecessary expences, and, partly, from the want of a rigid œconomy, why the king, even early in his reign, was deeply involved in debt, and felt it very difficult to support the government (i).

Farmers, and not commissioners, were appointed to levy the customs. On this occasion, Mr. Hume remarks that it seemed indeed, requisite that the former method should always be tried before the latter; although a preferable one. He adds that when mens own interest is concerned, they fall upon an hundred expedients to prevent frauds in the merchants; and these the public may afterwards imitate in establishing proper rules for its officers.

The customs were supposed to amount to five per cent. of the value, and were levied upon exports, as well as imports. The imposition upon exports, is affirmed to have amounted, on some few occasions, in consequence of additions made by James, to twenty-five per cent. This practice, so detrimental to industry, still prevails in France, Spain, and many countries of Europe. In the year, one thousand, six hundred, and

(i) Hume's History of England. V. 6. 8vo. Appendix, p. 172.

and four, the customs yielded, annually, one hundred, and twenty-seven thousand pounds. Towards the conclusion of this reign, they rose to an hundred, and sixty thousand pounds^(k). According to some calculations, they amounted to an hundred, and ninety thousand pounds.

Interest, during this reign, was at ten per cent. until the year, one thousand, six hundred, and twenty-four, when it was reduced to eight per cent. This high interest hath been considered as an indication of the great profits, and of the small progress of commerce ^(l).

The extraordinary supplies granted by parliament, during the whole reign, did not amount to more than six hundred, and thirty thousand pounds, which, divided for twenty-one years, make thirty thousand pounds a year. In this account, no mention is inserted of the supplies amounting to three hundred thousand pounds, which were given to the king by his last parliament. These were paid to their own commissioners, and the expences of a Spanish war, are justly observed to have been much more than sufficient to exhaust them ^(m).

Subsidies, and fifteenths, have been frequently mentioned by historians; but neither the amount of these taxes, nor the method of levying them, have been well explained. Mr. Hume, from whom this remark is taken, observes that it appears that the fifteenths formerly corresponded to the name, and were that proportionable part of the moveables ⁽ⁿ⁾. But a valuation

(k) Parl. Journ. 21 May, 1604.—31 May 1621.

(l) Hume's History of England, V. 6. 8vo. Appendix, p. 172.

(m) Ibid.

(n) Coke's Inst. B. 4. C. 1. of Fifteenths. Quinzins.

tion having been made in the reign of Edward, the third, that valuation was always adhered to, and each town paid, unalterably, a particular sum, which the inhabitants themselves assessed upon their fellow-citizens. The same tax was called, in corporate towns, a tenth; because that, there, it was, at first, a tenth of the moveables. The whole amount of a tenth, and fifteenth, throughout the kingdom, or a fifteenth (as it is often more concisely called,) was about twenty-nine thousand pounds (o). The amount of a subsidy was not invariable, like that of a fifteenth. In the eighth year of the reign of Elizabeth, a subsidy amounted to an hundred and twenty thousand pounds. In the fortieth year, it was not above twenty-eight thousand pounds (p). It afterwards fell to seventy thousand pounds, and was continually decreasing (q). Mr. Hume adds that the reason is easily collected from the method of levying it. It appears from the subsidy-bills (r) that one subsidy was given for four shillings in the pound, on land, and two shillings, and eight pence on moveables throughout the counties; a considerable tax, had it been strictly levied. But this was only the ancient state of a subsidy. During the reign of James, there was not paid the twentieth part of that sum. The tax was so far personal, that a man paid only in the county where he lived, although he should possess estates in other countries, and the assessors formed a loose estimation of his property, and rated him accordingly. To preserve, however, some rule in the estimation, it seems to have been the practice to keep an eye

(o) Coke's Inst. B. 4. C. 1. Subsidies temporary.

(p) Parl. Journ. 11 July, 1610.

(q) Coke's Instit. B. 4. C. 1. Subsidies temporary.

(r) See the Statutes at large.

eye to former assessments, and to rate every man, according as his ancestors, or men of such an estimated property were accustomed to pay. This was a sufficient reason, why subsidies could not increase, notwithstanding the great increase of money, and the rise of rents. But there was an evident reason, why they continually decreased. The favour, as is natural to suppose, ran always against the crown; especially during the latter end of the reign of Elizabeth, when subsidies became numerous, and frequent, and the sums levied were considerable, compared to former supplies. The assessors, although accustomed to pay a regard to ancient estimations, were not bound to observe any such rule; but might rate a-new any person, according to his present income. When rents fell, or parts of an estate were sold off, the proprietor was sure to represent these losses, and obtain a diminution of his subsidy; but where rents rose, or new lands were purchased, he kept his own secret, and paid no more than formerly. The advantage, therefore, of every change, was taken against the crown; and the crown could obtain the advantage of none. To render the matter worse, the alterations which happened in property, during this age, were, in general, unfavourable to the crown. The small proprietors, or the twenty-pound-men went continually to decay; and when their estates were swallowed up by a greater, the new purchaser did not increase his subsidy. So loose (observes our author,) is the whole method of rating subsidies, that the wonder was not how the tax should continually diminish; but how it yielded any revenue at all. It became at last so unequal, and uncertain, that the parliament was obliged to change it into a land-tax (s).

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(s) Hume's History of Eng. 8vo. V. 6. p. 175. Appendix.

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The price of corn, and of other necessities of life, during the reign of James, is remarked (*t*) to have been no lower, or rather to have risen higher, than at present. In consequence of a proclamation issued by the king, and establishing public magazines, whensoever wheat fell below thirty-two shillings, a quarter, rye below eighteen shillings, and barley below sixteen shillings, the commissioners were impowered to purchase corn for the magazines (*u*). Such prices, at that period, must be considered as low, yet, by the present estimation, they would rather pass for high. In this reign, the usual bread of the poor was made of barley (*x*). The best wool was generally at thirty-three shillings, a tod. Lately, it was not above two thirds of that value; although it is to be presumed that our exports in woollen goods are somewhat increased. So rapid also hath been the progress of arts, and industry, that the finer manufactures have rather diminished in price, notwithstanding the great increase of money. In one of the plays, written by Shakespeare, the hostess assures Falstaff that the shirts which she had purchased for him were of Holland, and at the price of eight shillings, a yard; a great price, at this day, even supposing what is not probable, that the best Holland, at that time, was equal in goodness to the best that can now be purchased. In like manner, a yard of velvet, towards the middle of the reign of Elizabeth, was valued at twenty-two shillings (*y*). It may be inferred that cattle bore a high price, as well

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(*t*) Hume's History of England, 8vo. V. 6. p. 175. Appendix.

(*u*) Rymer's Fœdera, V. 17. p. 526.—21 Jac. 6, C. 28.

(*x*) Ibid. V. 20. p. 157.

(*y*) Hume's History of England, 8vo. V. 6. p. 176. Appendix.—See a compendium, or dialogue inserted in the Memoirs of Wool, chap. 23.

as corn, from the observation (z) that Henry prince of Wales, made an allowance of nearly a groat, a pound, throughout the year, for all the beef, and mutton used within his family. It also deserves consideration, that the general turn of that age, which no law could prevent, was the converting of arable land into pasture; a certain proof that the latter was found more profitable, and consequently that the butcher's-meat, as well as bread, was rather higher than at present (a). From the regulation of the market, with regard to poultry, and some other articles, at an early period, in the reign of Charles, the first, it appears that the prices were high. A Turkey cock was sold for four-shillings, and six pence; a Turkey hen for three shillings; a pheasant cock for six shillings; a pheasant hen for five shillings; a partridge for one shilling; a goose for two shillings; a capon for two shillings and six pence; a pullet for one shilling, and six-pence; a rabbit for eight pence, and a dozen of pigeons for six shillings (b). The historian adds that it must be remarked that, during the present *Æra*, London is more than thrice as populous as it was in the reign of James the first; a circumstance which much increases the price of poultry, and of all articles which cannot be conveniently brought from a distance; not to mention, that these regulations by authority are always calculated to diminish, but never to increase the

(z) Birch's Life of Henry, Prince of Wales, p. 449.

(a) Hume's History of England, 8vo. V. 6. p. 176. Appendix.

(b) Rymer's *Fœdera*, V. 19. p. 511.—Mr. Hume justly observes that we may judge of the great grievance of purveyance by this circumstance, that the Purveyors often gave but sixpence for a dozen of Pigeons, and two pence for a fowl.—See Parl. Journ. 25 May, 1626.

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the market-prices. The contractors for victualling the navy were allowed, by government, eight pence, a day, for the diet of each man, when within the harbour, and seven pence halfpenny, a day, when at sea (c); which would suffice at present. This subject is concluded with an observation that the chief difference in expence between that age, and the present, consists in the imaginary wants of men, which have since extremely multiplied. These are the principal reasons why the revenue of James would go farther than the same money in our time, although the difference is not near so great as is usually imagined (d).

Concerning the establishment of colonies, we have already treated, and, therefore, in this place, resume the subject, merely to introduce an observation which, at the period when it fell from one of the most discerning of our historians (e), made a deep impression, and was perhaps more than generally attended to; but its fallacy is now demonstrated in a series of events which the few lovers of their country who yet remain untainted by the corruption of surrounding parties, must contemplate with equal horror, and despair.

“Speculative reasoners raised many objections, during the reign of James, to the establishment of remote colonies, and foretold that after draining their mother-country of inhabitants, they would soon shake off her yoke, and erect an independent

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(c) Rymer's *Fœdera*, V. 17. p. 441.

(d) It is proper that we should inform the Reader that these remarks were written by Mr. Hume, in the year, one thousand, seven hundred, and fifty-five; and that, in this short period, the prices have risen more than during the preceding hundred, and fifty years.

(e) Mr. Hume. *History of England*, 8vo. V. 6. p. 188. Appendix.

“government in America; but time hath shewn that
“the views entertained by those who encouraged such
“generous undertakings, were more just, and solid,
“A mild government, and a great naval force have
“preserved, and may still preserve, during some time,
“the dominion of England over her colonies. And
“such advantages have commerce, and navigation
“reaped from these establishments, that more than
“a fourth of the English shipping is, at present (*f*),
“computed to be employed in carrying on the traffic
“with the American settlements.”

To the remark that agriculture was anciently very imperfect in England, Mr. Hume judiciously adds that the sudden transitions which have been so often mentioned by historians, from the lowest to the highest price of grain, and the prodigious inequality of its value, at different years, are sufficient proofs that the produce depended intirely on the seasons, and that art had as yet done nothing to fence against the inclemency of the heavens. He subjoins that, during the reign of James, considerable improvements were made, as in most arts, so in this, the most beneficial of any. A numerous catalogue might be formed of books, and pamphlets, treating of husbandry, which were written about this time. It is observed that the nation was, notwithstanding, still depending on foreigners for daily bread; and although its exportation of grain now forms a considerable branch of its commerce, in spite of its probable increase of people, there was, in that period, a regular importation from the Baltic, as well as from France; and, if it ever stopped, the bad consequences were sensibly felt by the nation. Sir Walter Raleigh

(*f*) This remark was written about the year, one thousand, seven hundred, and fifty-five.

Raleigh computes that two millions went out, at one time, for corn. It was not until the fifth year of the reign of Elizabeth that the exportation of corn had been allowed in England; and Camden observes that agriculture, from that moment, received new life, and vigour (g).

Relatively to the coinage, we shall remark that by an indenture of the second year of the reign of James, the first, a pound-weight of gold, of twenty-two carats, fine, and of two carats, alloy, was coined into thirty-seven pounds, and four shillings, by tale; namely, into unites, passing for twenty shillings; double crowns, at ten shillings; Britain crowns, at five shillings; thistle crowns, at four shillings; and half crowns, at two shillings, and six pence, each. A pound weight of silver, of the same standard, was coined into sixty-two shillings, by tale; namely, into shillings, sixpences, two-pences, pence, half-pence, crowns, and half-crowns. In the third year of this reign, a pound weight of gold, of the old standard, and of twenty-three carats, three grains, and a half, fine, was coined into forty pounds, and ten shillings, by tale; namely, into rose-rials, at thirty shillings, a piece; spur-rials, at fifteen shillings, a piece; and angels, at ten shillings, a piece. In the ninth year of this reign, a proclamation was issued, directing that gold should be raised, at the rate of two shillings, in every twenty shillings. On the succeeding year, a pound weight of the old standard-gold was coined into forty-four pounds, by tale; namely, rose-rials, spur-rials, and angels. A pound weight of gold, of twenty-

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(g) Hume's History of England, 8vo. V. 6. p. 188, 189. Appendix.

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two carats, fine, was coined into forty pounds, eighteen shillings, and four pence; namely, into unites, at twenty-two shillings; double-crowns, at eleven shillings; Britain crowns, at five shillings, and sixpence; thistle-crowns, at four shillings, and four pence, three farthings; or half British crowns, at two shillings, and nine pence, a piece (*h*).

(*h*) Rapin's History of England, 8vo. V. 8. p. 305, &c. &c.

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Sir WALTER RALEIGH.

WERE we to trace the conduct of this eccentric hero through every striking circumstance in which a fearless disposition, extensive talents, an active perseverance, great virtues, and some fatally-directed vices induced him to engage, we should enter into a field much wider than that which hath been already taken for the discussion of occurrences connected with the nature of our history. Let it suffice, therefore, that we present the reader with a brief detail of those particular transactions which lay claim to his attention.

The celebrated subject of this memoir was the son of Sir Walter Raleigh, baronet, of Fardel, in the county of Devon, by his third, and last wife, Catherine, the daughter of Sir Philip Champernon, of Modbury, and the relict of Otho Gilbert, esquire, of Compton (a). Thus, was he also the uterine brother of

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those

(a) Modbury, and Compton, are both situated in Devonshire.

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those illustrious knights, Sir John, Sir Humphrey, and Sir Adrian Gilbert; a circumstance at least as honourable as his descent from a family coeval with the conquest (b).

In the year, one thousand, five hundred, and fifty-two Mr. Raleigh, being possessed of a long lease, resided at Hayes, a farm situated in the parish of Budley, and in that part of Devonshire which borders eastward upon the sea, and lies at a small distance from the place where the river Ottery discharges itself into the British channel. Here, and at this period his family was augmented by the birth of Walter, who, when he had passed the earliest days of life, in acquiring a competent knowledge of the elements of literature, was sent to the University of Oxford, and admitted into Oriel college, where, in the year one thousand, five hundred, and sixty eight, he had distinguished himself by a proficiency in learning, far beyond his age (c).

After a short residence at this place, he travelled into France (d), accompanied by several young, and enterprising volunteers, of honourable families, who bore arms in defence of the protestants, during that period, amounting to twenty-five thousand fighting men, and encamped near Limosin, under the admiral Coligny, and the prince of Condé (e). In this kingdom, Raleigh

(b) Camden's Britannia, in Devon.—John Prince's Worthies of Devon. fol. 1701. p. 531.—Visitations of Wilts, Dorset, and Somerset, MS. A. D. 1623.—Visitation of Devonshire, by William Hervey, esquire, Clarencieux, MS. in the Herald's office.—Life of Sir Walter Raleigh, by Oldys, p. 4, 5, 6.

(c) Wood's Athen. Oxon. V. 1. Col. 345.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 46.

(d) About the year, one thousand, five hundred, and sixty-nine.

(e) Camden's Annals, A. D. 1560.—J. De Serres. anno 1569.—Jac. August. Thuani Historiarum sui Temporis, tom. 2. folio. 1626. lib. 46. p. 601.

leigh served for a considerable space of time, improving his military knowledge, and gaining, by the prudence and intrepidity of his conduct, the reputation of an accomplished soldier. To what an excellence he had arrived in the first instance, is evident from those judicious observations, which are still extant, and relate to the civil wars of France, under the reign of Charles, the ninth, a tyrant whose ferocious disposition was equalled only by his bigotry, and dissimulation. Such was Raleigh, when considered as a military writer; and that he, with equal valour, and discretion, reduced to practice the theory of martial Science, hath been attested by those officers who fought near to him in the field of battle. We learn that he followed the wars, under the banners of the Hugonots, during the space of five years, and next, passed into the Netherlands, where he acted as a volunteer against the Spaniards (*f*). These countries were, in the sixteenth century, the scenes, and schools of heroism. Hither, every gallant youth, who had embraced the profession of a soldier, hastened to acquire honour, by the exposure of his person, in the heat of action. To the generality of adventurers, the intervals of rest from an engagement were more fatal than the foes whom they attacked. A licentiousness of manners, too prevalent in camps, had introduced a baneful corruption, and the milder virtues (without the influence of which human nature must sink into disgrace,) were become the aversion of a set of men who deemed the wild sallies of a ferocious disposition to be the truest characteristics of a perfect soldier. Amidst this deluded multitude, Raleigh remained superior to seduc-

(*f*) Naunton's *Fragmenta Regalia*, p. 28.—Campbell's *Lives of the Admirals*, V. 2. p. 47.

seduction, and turning to advantage every incident connected with a military service in a foreign country, became at once so much the inquisitive philosopher, the polished gentleman, and the well-instructed officer, that on his return to England, he was considered as a man scarcely equalled either with regard to present endowments, or the sanguine hopes which he had raised in his acquaintance concerning the future application of exalted talents (*g*).

In the year, one thousand, five hundred, and seventy-eight, Sir Humphrey Gilbert, the brother-in-law of Raleigh, obtained from Elizabeth a patent, by virtue of which he was empowered to establish a colony within some northern districts of America, which were not possessed by any prince who had engaged in treaties of alliance with the crown of England. The particulars connected with this enterprize have been already presented (*h*) to the reader; and it is, in this place, sufficient to observe that Raleigh, who had accompanied his brave, but unfortunate relation, returned to his native country, in the spring of the year, one thousand, five hundred, and eighty-nine.

We, next, trace our illustrious adventurer bearing arms under the president of Munster (*i*). At a succeeding period (*k*), he served as an officer, amongst the troops commanded by Thomas, earl of Ormond,
a near

(*g*) Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 47.

(*h*) See from the twenty-fifth to the forty-seventh page of the third volume of this work.—Consult, also, Howell's Letters, V. 2. No. 54.—Hackluyt, V. 3. p. 164.—173.—Holingshed, V. 2. p. 1369.—Oldys's Life of Sir Walter Raleigh, Folio. p. 13.—Hooker's Dedication, prefixed to the Translation, and Continuation of the Irish Chronicles.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 47. 48.

(*i*) A. D. 1580.

(*k*) A. D. 1581.

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a near relation to Elizabeth, but more ennobled by his virtues, and, particularly, that firm adherence to his duty which enabled him to turn, with a generous disdain, from temptations of greater prevalence than any to which others in such exalted stations had ever been exposed. The Spaniards, headed by San Josepo, an Italian, had constructed, and fortified a castle, called Del Ore, at Smerwick, in the county of Kerry. Of this hold, an attempt was made to dispossess them, by Arthur, lord Grey, the newly-appointed deputy, a ferocious tyrant, and implacable in his hatred against the Irish, whom he now treated with the most unrelenting barbarity, under pretence that he could not more effectually adhere to his instructions for the speedy, and successful termination of the war. When Ormond was obliged to retreat to Rathkeal, Grey, attended by a body of forces, amounting to eight hundred men, advanced from Dublin, whilst, in order to support his hostile operations, the English admiral, Sir William Winter, proceeded, with his fleet, to Smerwick. Previous to the attack, the troops within the garrison were summoned to surrender. They replied that they would stand on their defence, and endeavour, with force of arms, to obey the mandates of the pope, destroy heretics, and compel the surviving natives to acknowledge the authority of their master Philip, whom the church of Rome had formally invested with the sovereignty of Ireland. This answer, less rational, than bold, was followed by a furious sally, during which the Spaniards were violently repulsed. On the day following, Sir William Winter erected a battery of cannon between the fortress and the shore, whilst, on the land-side, the lord Grey drew up his artillery, at an advantageous distance, for the purpose of annoying the besieged, who, when again pressed to yield,

yield, and rely upon the mercy of the English, declared that they not only should repel hostilities, but endeavour to extend the progress of their arms. The attack was now commenced, and Josepo, the commander of the fort, convinced of the inefficacy of resistance, yet dissenting from the opinion of his associates, intreated for permission to capitulate. Grey answered that to traitors no concessions could be granted; and the enemy driven to the most terrible extremities, implored for mercy, and submitted. It is with equal abhorrence, and concern, that we pursue the sequel of this relation. Raleigh, the enlightened, the celebrated Raleigh was appointed to superintend the perpetration of cruelties which would have disgraced a savage. The laurels reaped by this intrepid soldier, during the reduction of the fortress, were, afterwards, besmeared with blood. Forgetful of his honour, he accepted of an ignominious office, and coolly, when all contention had subsided, assisted in the slaughter of the garrison. Too justly was it asserted, in the presence of Elizabeth, that the lord deputy, and his officers, had tyrannized with such barbarity, that little remained in Ireland for her to reign over but carcases, and ashes (*1*).

In vindication of these severe proceedings, it hath been urged that the vanquished were so numerous, daring, and ungovernable, that an attempt to confine them

(1) Stowe, p. 688.—Camden, p. 334, 335, 336, 337, 338, 339.—Hooker's Supplement to the Irish Chronicle, Folio. p. 171.—O Sull. Hist. Cath.—Leland's History of Ireland, B. 4. C. 2.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 48, 49.—Cox's history of Ireland, p. 368.—Hume's History of England, 8vo. V. 5. p. 233, 234—See also the 199th 20th and 201st pages of the second volume of this work.—Oldys's life of Sir Walter Raleigh, Folio. p. 16.

them within a prison must have been too precarious a method, whilst their conquerors were under the necessity of precluding them from the power of a second, and more effectual resistance; that a total extirpation of such enemies, was the only firm security on which the English could rely; that in the very moment previous to the order for the execution of the Spaniards, who had surrendered, the lord deputy received advice of the near approach of one thousand, and five hundred of the rebellious Irish; that no vessels were in readiness to convey the foreigners to their native land; and that the soldiers in the service of the victorious party, declared that they would turn their arms against their own chiefs, if restrained from the full liberty of plundering the fort. It was not in the power of such apologies to screen the English either from the execration of their adversaries, or the censures of the world. All Europe considered this massacre with horror; but the catholics, in particular, exclaimed against it, as the most cruel, and flagitious infringement of a solemn oath, by which Grey had taught the Spaniards to expect the liberty of departing secure from insult, and with the honours of war.

The great law of candour, which no historian should ever venture to transgress, will not suffer us, in this place, to conceal a testimony, that was intended to palliate the barbarity of the lord deputy, and his associates. How effectually it may operate as an exculpation of the guilt supposed to have been incurred by Raleigh, is, without a comment, submitted to the judgment of the reader. A celebrated writer, who was secretary (*m*) to Grey, and near the scene of action,

(*m*) Edmond Spencer.—View of the state of Ireland, V. 6. p. 1611. 12mo.

tion, hath transmitted to posterity the following account.

“ When first their secretary Seignior Jeffrey, an Italian, was sent to treat with the lord deputy, for grace, he was flatly refused it. And afterwards, when their colonel, named Don Sebastian, came forth to intreat that they might depart with their arms, like soldiers, and, at least, be spared their lives, according to the custom of war, and the law of nations, the request was strongly denied to him, and he was told by the lord deputy, that they could not justly plead either the custom of war, or the law of nations; for that they were not any lawful enemies; and if they were, he insisted upon their shewing by what commission they came thither, into the dominions of another prince, to war. When they said they had no commission to produce, but were only adventurers that came to seek fortune abroad, and to serve in wars amongst the Irish, who desired to entertain them, it was then answered that the Irish, such as the earl (and John,) of Desmond, with the rest, were no lawful enemies, but rebels, and traitors; and therefore they who came to succour them, were no better than rógues, and runnagades, and especially when coming without a licence, or commission from their own king; wherefore it would be dishonourable for him, in the name of his queen, to condition, or make any terms with such rascalls. So he left it to their choice, whether they would yield or not. Then the said colonel did absolutely yield himself, and the fort, with all therein, craving only mercy, which it was not thought good to shew them.”

We learn that Raleigh performed other services in Ireland, a minute relation of which is foreign to our pur-

purpose. These were so favourably represented by his Friends, in England, that, in the year, one thousand, five hundred, and eighty one, he was appointed, under a joint commission, one of the governors of Munster. His conduct, during the execution of this office, gave the highest satisfaction to the queen, who rewarded him with a grant of a large estate situated in the country which he had subdued (n).

Soon after his return to England, he attracted the notice of his sovereign, by one of those acts of gallantry which were not only natural to him, but formed a principal ingredient of his character. Whilst Elizabeth was engaged in taking her frequent exercise on foot, she approached a spot of ground, the surface of which had been strewn with rubbish. Unwilling to soil her shoes, she stopped short, and seemed averse from going forward, when Raleigh, who had observed her, at a distance, ran up, and throwing off his velvet cloak, (a part of the fashionable habit which he wore,) fell respectfully on his knees, and extended it across the path. The queen trod gently over it, and, at the same time, discovered her approbation of this politeness, with a gracious smile. Encouraged by a condescension which appeared the earnest of his better fortune, he resorted daily to the court. When he perceived that Elizabeth still honoured him with her attention, he wrote on the pane of a glass window, which was obvious to her eye,

“Fain would I climb, yet fear I to fall,”

and, soon afterwards, observed that his royal mistress had added

“If thine heart fail thee, climb not at all (o).”

It

(n) Naunton's *Fragmenta Regalia*, p. 28, 29.—Campbell's *Lives of the Admirals*. V. 2. p. 50.

(o) Fuller's *Worthies of England*, Folio. 1662, in Devon.—Walpole's *Royal, and noble Authors*. Article Elizabeth. V. 1. p. 31.

It is justly observed that, howsoever romantic these passages may appear, the gravest historians have not scrupled to admit them. The experienced reader who knows how often an unexpected compliment, or artificial bait for favour, will catch it sooner than the most substantial services, would, perhaps, doubt whether such incidents are to be called accessaries, so much as principals in worldly promotions; but esteem those circumstances as the most instructive in the lives of great men which display the footsteps of their advancement, and how they first fell into the track of distinction. The acquisition of glory hath been compared to that of riches. The profound mystery lies in procuring the prime stock; an ordinary prudence will increase it (*p*).

When the duke of Anjou, who, in the character of a lover, had resided during three months, at the court of Elizabeth, departed, in order to assume the government of the Netherlands, the Queen expressly commanded that Raleigh should attend him. When our Hero returned from this service, he was intrusted with letters, addressed by the prince of Orange, to the queen. (*q*) Shortly afterwards, he fixed his residence within the court; and was patronized even by contending Statesmen, who seemed rejoiced to prove how true a Judgment they could form of merit (*r*). In the year, one thousand, five hundred, and eighty-three, he was concerned in the second attempt of his brother Sir Humphrey Gilbert, whose miserable end hath been already

(*p*) Oldys's Life of Sir Walter Raleigh, Folio. p. 19.

(*q*) Leicester's Commonwealth, p. 37.—Aulic Coquin. p. 90.—Sir Walter Raleigh's invention of Shipping, in his select essays, p. 36.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 51.

(*r*) Shirley's Life of Sir Walter Raleigh, p. 19.—Lloyd's State Worthies, p. 487.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 50.

ready mentioned (1). The concern with which Raleigh received the news of this calamity, howsoever violent, did not prevent him from cherishing the popular zeal for the progress of colonization; and equally eager to gratify his own wishes, and keep alive the spirit of discoveries, he drew up a memorial of the advantages likely to result from an endeavour to explore those regions which were situated to the Northward of America, and presented it at the council-board. Such was the success of this measure, that the queen granted him her letters-patent, of which it may be necessary to present the reader with a copy.

“ELIZABETH, &c. To all people greeting. Know ye that out of our especial grace, we grant to our trusty, and well-beloved servant, Walter Raleigh, esquire, his heirs, and assigns, the free liberty to discover such remote heathen, and barbarous lands, not actually possessed by any Christian prince, nor inhabited by Christian people, as to him, or them shall seem good, to hold the same, with all prerogatives, commodities, jurisdictions, royalties, privileges, by sea, and land, as we by letters-patent may grant, or any of our progenitors have granted; with licence to inhabit, or remain, build, and fortify, at the discretion of the said Walter Raleigh, his heirs, &c. the statutes, or acts against fugitives, or such as depart this realm unprejudiced, notwithstanding. We likewise grant him, or them, full power to take, or lead such of our subjects as shall willingly accompany him, or them; also to employ, and use sufficient shipping, and furniture for transportations, and navigations in that behalf; so that none of those persons be such as are restrained by us, or our heirs, or successors. Farther, that the said

VOL. IV.

F

Walter

(1) See from the thirty-fourth, to the forty-fourth page of the third volume of this work.

Walter Raleigh, and his heirs shall enjoy for ever, all the soil of such land so to be discovered, and of all such cities, castles, or towns, in the same, with the right and royalties, as well marine, as other, within the said land, or seas adjoining, with full power to dispose thereof in fee-simple, or otherwise, according to the laws of England, at his, and their will, to any person within the allegiance of us, or of our heirs, reserving always to us, for all services, duties, and demands, the fifth part of all the ore of gold, and silver there obtained after such discovery. All which lands, and countries shall be for ever holden by the said Walter Raleigh, his heirs, &c. by homage, the said payment reserved only for all services. We likewise grant to the said Raleigh, and his heirs, licence for their defence, to repel by land, or sea, all persons that shall without his, or their liking, attempt to inhabit the same countries, or within two hundred leagues of the places in them, where he, or they, within six years to come, shall make their dwellings, if not before inhabited by the subjects of any Christian prince, in amity with us. Giving also power to him, or them, to take those persons, with their ships, and goods, and keep them as lawful prize, who, without his, or their licence, shall be found trafficking within the limits aforesaid (our subjects, and others, in amity with us, only excepted). And as well for uniting in more perfect league, such countries with our realms of England, and Ireland, as for the encouragement of men to these enterprizes, we declare that all such countries so possessed shall be of our allegiance. And we grant unto the said Walter Raleigh, his heirs, and unto all, being of our allegiance, whose names shall be entered into some court of record, within our realm of England, and to their heirs who, with the assent of the said Walter Raleigh,
his

his heirs, &c. shall, in his journies for discoveries, or conquest, hereafter travel such lands that they, and every of them, being either born within our said realms of England, or of Ireland, or in any other place within our allegiance, and who shall hereafter be inhabitants of any of the lands aforesaid, shall have all the privilege of free denizens, and persons, natives of England, in such ample manner as if they were born, and personally resident in our said realm of England, any law, &c. notwithstanding. And, farther, for the safety of all that shall adventure themselves, we grant the said Walter Raleigh, and his heirs, full power, and authority within the said lands, in the way thither, and from thence, to correct, punish, pardon, and govern, by their good discretions, and policies, as well in causes, capital, as criminal, as civil, both marine and other, all our subjects who so adventure themselves, and shall inhabit the territories aforesaid, or shall abide within two hundred leagues, of any such places, where he, or they shall inhabit, within sixty years next ensuing, according to such statutes, as shall be, by him, or them established, so that the said statutes, or laws conform as near as conveniently may be, with those of England, and do not oppugn the christian faith, or any way withdraw the people of those lands, from our allegiance. We also grant full power to our trusty and well-beloved counsellor, Sir William Cecil, lord Burghley, our high-treasurer of England, and to the lord-treasurer for us, and our heirs, and to the privy-council of us, and our heirs, or any four, or more of them, that he, or they, under their hands, or seals, authorize the said Walter Raleigh, or his heirs, by themselves, or officers, to transport out of England, and Ireland, any of their

F 2

goods,

goods with other commodities as to the said lord-treasurer, or the said privy-council shall be thought convenient, for the better relief, and support of the said Walter Raleigh, or his heirs, any act notwithstanding. Provided always, that if the said Walter Raleigh, or his heirs, or any other, by his or their licence, shall rob, or spoil, by sea or land, or do any unlawful hostility to any of our subjects, or those of kings, or states, in perfect league, and unity with us, we shall, upon just complaint, make proclamation that the said Walter Raleigh, or his heirs, shall, within the terms to be limited, make full satisfaction; so that we, and those who complain may be fully contented; and that if he, or they make not such satisfaction, within such time, it shall be lawful for us to put him, or them, out of their allegiance, and, from that time, for all princes, or others to pursue with hostility, as not to be avouched, or defended by us, although any mention of the yearly value of the premises, or any part thereof, or of any other grant by us, or our predecessors, to the said Walter Raleigh, before this time made, be not expressed, or any other provision, or restraint, to the contrary notwithstanding. In witness whereof, we have caused these our letters to be made patents, at Westminster, on the twenty-fifth of March, in the twenty-sixth year of our reign (1)."

Encouraged by this success, Raleigh equipped, at his own expence, two small vessels, and appointed to the command of them the captains Philip Amadas, and Arthur Barlow, who on the twenty-seventh of the following month of April, set sail from the west of England, for the coast of North-America, where they

(1) Hackluyt's voyages, V. 3. p. 243.

they arrived safely, at the commencement of July, and took possession of that rich country, named afterwards Virginia (u).

At this period, Raleigh, in conjunction with Sir William Courtenay, was chosen by the freeholders to represent the county of Devon. During the first sessions of his attendance in the house of commons, a bill passed in confirmation of his patent for the discovery of foreign countries (x); and, soon afterwards, he was advanced, by Elizabeth, to the dignity of knighthood. In the year, one thousand, five hundred, and eighty-five, he fitted out a second fleet, for Virginia, which returned with a Spanish prize, valued at an immense sum (y). He was also concerned in the preparations for the voyage of captain Davis, who attempted the discovery of a north-west passage. On this account it was that a promontory in the streights, named after that adventurer, received the appellation of Mount-Raleigh (z). The politic Elizabeth thought fit to countenance these public-spirited, and expensive projects. Pleased with the adventurous disposition of our hero, she invested him with the power to license the vending of wines, throughout the kingdom, and also conferred on him a seigniorie in Ireland, consisting of twelve thousand acres, which he planted, at his own expence, preserving them during a long period, and until he sold them to

F 3

Richard

(u) Not by Raleigh, but Elizabeth.—Oldys's *Life of Sir Walter Raleigh*, folio. p. 25.

(x) Brown Willis's *Notitia Parliamentaria*, V. 2. p. 254.

(y) See from the 319th to the 321st page of the third volume of this work.

(z) See from the 70th to the 79th page of the third volume of this work.

Richard Boyle, the first earl of Corke (*a*). Encouraged by the munificence of his sovereign, he now fitted out a third fleet, for Virginia, and also two barks to cruize on the Spaniards, near the Azores, the captains of which were so successful that they were obliged to leave many of their prizes, near the scene of action (*b*). This illustrious adventurer, not more prosperous in his naval enterprizes, than in the fruits of his assiduous attendance on Elizabeth, was, towards the conclusion of the year, one thousand, five hundred, and eighty-six, raised to the posts of Seneschal of the duchies of Cornwall, and of lord warden of the flannaries in Devonshire, and Cornwall. It hath been remarked that these preferments, although not superior to his merit, exposed him to the malice of those undeserving individuals, who despaired of attaining, by their intrigues, to the like advantages (*c*):

In the year one thousand, five hundred, and eighty-seven, Sir Walter Raleigh equipped, at his own charge, a fourth fleet, and, soon afterwards, (*d*) provided a fifth, both of which were destined for Virginia. Concerning these voyages, let it be sufficient to observe that they were not successful, although the adventurers were men of unquestionable resolution, and established reputation.

The conduct of our hero, during the memorable period when all the naval, and military power of Spain was collected for the destruction of the English, hath

(*a*) Oldys's Life of Sir Walter Raleigh, folio. p. 26.—Cox's history of Ireland, p. 389.—391. Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 52.

(*b*) Hackluyt, V. 2. Part 2. p. 120.

(*c*) Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 52.

(*d*) A. D. 1588.

hath been already mentioned (e). We shall here add that he was a member of the council commanded to devise the most effectual means of repelling an invasion, and that the operations which he suggested were the result of great naval experience, deep policy, and a consummate knowledge of the fittest application of those insular advantages peculiar to the English. As the remarks of Raleigh refer particularly to the engagement with the Armada, and must convince the reader that, during an *Æra* when the progress of the nautical arts was neither rapid, nor enlightened, this illustrious seaman surpassed, in a knowledge of the marine, the generality of his contemporaries, we shall insert a passage from his history of the world (f).

“Certainly he that will happily perform a fight at sea, must be skilful in making choice of vessels to fight in. He must believe that there is more being long to a good man of war, upon the waters, than a great daring; and he must know that there is a great deal of difference between fighting loose, or at large, and grappling. The guns of a slow ship pierce as well, and make as great holes as those in a swift ship. To clap ships together, without consideration, belongs rather to a madman than to a man of War; for, by such ignorant bravery was Peter Strossie lost at the Azores, when he fought against the marquis of Santa-Croce. In like sort, had lord Charles Howard, admiral of England, been lost in the year, one thousand, five hundred, and eighty-eight, if he had not been better advised than a great many malignant fools were, who found

F 4

“fault

(e) See from the 232d to the 305th page of the third volume of this work.

(f) B. 5. C. 1. Sect. 6.

“ fault with his demeanour. The Spaniards had an
“ army aboard of them, and he had none. They
“ had more ships than he had, and of a higher build-
“ ing, and charging, so that, had he entangled him-
“ self with those great, and powerful vessels, he had
“ much endangered the kingdom of England. For,
“ twenty men, upon the defence, are equal to an hun-
“ dred that board, and enter; whereas, then, con-
“ trariwise the Spaniards had an hundred, for twenty
“ of ours, to defend themselves withal. But our ad-
“ miral knew his advantage, and held it, which,
“ had he not done, he had not been worthy to have
“ held his head. Here, to speak of sea-fights, I
“ say that a fleet of twenty ships, all good sailors,
“ and good ships, have the advantage in the open sea,
“ of an hundred as good ships, but of slower sailing.
“ For if the fleet of an hundred sail keep themselves
“ in a close squadron, the twenty ships in any angle
“ shall force them to give ground, and to fall back
“ upon their own next fellows, of which so many as
“ entangle are made unserviceable, or lost. Force
“ them they may easily, because twenty ships which
“ give themselves scope, after they have given one-
“ broadside of artillery, by clapping into the wind,
“ and staying, may give them the other, and so the
“ twenty ships batter them in pieces, with a perpetual
“ volley; whereas those that fight in a troop, have no
“ room to turn, and can always use but one, and the
“ same beaten side. If the fleet of an hundred sail
“ give themselves any distance, then shall the lesser
“ fleet prevail, either against those that are arrear,
“ and hindermost, or against those that by advantage
“ of over sailing their fellows, keep the wind; and,
“ if upon a lee-shore, the ships next the wind will
“ be constrained to fall back into their own squadron;
“ and

"and then it is all to nothing that the whole fleet must suffer shipwreck, or render itself. That such an advantage may be taken upon a fleet of equal speed, it hath been well enough conceived in old time; as by that oration of Hermocrates, in Thucydides, which he made to the Syracusians, when the Athenians invaded them, it may be easily observed."

Concerning the superfluity of great ordnances, in the royal navy, this discerning investigator remarks that "Many times, there is no proportion of shot, and powder allowed, rateably to that quantity of great ordnance, as was seen in the sea-battle, with the Spaniards, in the year, one thousand, five hundred, and eighty-eight, when it so nearly concerned the defence, and preservation of the kingdom. So as then many of those great guns, wanting powder, and shot, stood but as cyphers, and scare-crows, not unlike to the Eastling hulks, who were wont to plant great red port-holes, in their broadsides, where they carried no ordnance at all (g)."

At this period, the queen granted to Sir Walter Raleigh some additional emoluments resulting from the wine-office, and, soon afterwards, he made an assignment of all his right, and interest, in the colony of Virginia to some merchants of the port of London. We next observe him busied in preparations to assist Don Antonio, of Portugal, to recover his dominions. It is here unnecessary to enlarge on the particulars of the expedition (h) which followed, and we shall only remark that our hero, on this occasion, intercepted, and took several hulks, belonging to the Hanse Towns, for

(g) Raleigh's observations on the royal navy, 8vo. 1650. p. 26.

(h) See the 129th page of the third volume of this work.

for which service, the queen presented him with a chain of gold (*i*). In the following year, he made a voyage to Ireland, and towards the conclusion of it, formed the design of attacking the Spaniards in the West-Indies, of seizing the plate-fleet, and of plundering Panama. The reader already knows the chief circumstances relating to this enterprize (*k*). Be it sufficient, in this place, to inform him that the *Madre de Dios*, a carrack taken by Sir John Burroughs, one of the commanders of the English fleet (*l*), “ was in
 “ burthen no less than sixteen hundred tons, whereof
 “ nine hundred were merchandize ; she carried thirty-
 “ two pieces of brass ordnance, and betwixt six and
 “ seven hundred passengers ; she was built with decks,
 “ seven stories, one main orlope (*m*), three close
 “ decks, one fore-castle, and a spare deck of two
 “ floors a-piece. According to the observations of
 “ Mr. Adams, an excellent geometrician, she was,
 “ in length, from the beak-head to the stern, one
 “ hundred and sixty-five feet ; in breadth, near forty-
 “ seven feet ; the length of her keel was an hundred
 “ feet ; of the main-mast, an hundred, and twenty-
 “ one feet ; the circuit at the partners, was nearly
 “ eleven feet, and her main-yard, an hundred, and
 “ six feet. Her lading consisted of spices, drugs,
 “ silks, callicoes, carpets, quilts, cloth made of the
 “ rind of trees, ivory, porcelain, and ebony, ex-
 “ clusive of pearl, musk, civet, Amber-grease, and
 “ many other commodities of inferior value. The
 “ Cargeson freighted ten of our ships for London,
 “ and

(*i*) Oldys's Life of Sir Walter Raleigh, folio, p. 50.

(*k*) See the 281st page of the third volume of this work.

(*l*) See the 212th page of the same volume.

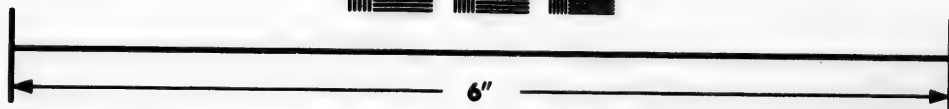
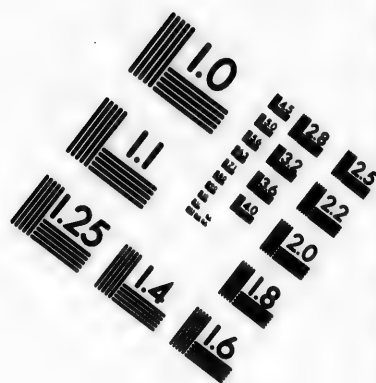
(*m*) Platform.

"and was by moderate computation, valued at an hundred, and fifty thousand pounds, sterling (n)." How anxious Raleigh, and his associate Sir John Hawkins were that the prize might be conducted home in safety, is evident from the following letter addressed by them, to the lord admiral.

"We have conferred together about the East-India ship to be brought to Plymouth, by Sir John Burroughs; and, in our opinions, she can be no less worth than five hundred thousand pounds; being a ship of so great burthen, and laden with such rich commodities as it appeareth that she is; wherefore we have considered that the Spanish men of war, lying upon the coast of Bretagne, hearing of so great a prize taken from the king, or the merchants of the country; and envying that such a benefit should grow to us, to their hindrance, and dishonour, will endeavour by all possible means, being distant but a day, or a night's sailing, either to recover the ship again, or to burn her, and all her lading, rather than she shall be delivered here; seeing that the places of defence where the ship may remain, are not able to resist their power. In our opinion, therefore, we think fit, and do pray your lordship, that the three ships of her majesty's, which are appointed to keep the narrow seas may, by your lordship's letter, and directions, be appointed to sail to the westward, and there also to guard the Indian ship, for a time, until the Garland, and some of the same fleet be returned, whose arrival cannot be any long

(n) True Reporte of the honourable service at sea, performed by Sir John Burroughs, lieutenant-general of the fleet, prepared by the honourable Sir Walter Raleigh, lord Warden, &c.—Hackluyt, V. 2. Part 2. p. 194.





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“ long time expected ; or until some order may be
 “ taken for the unlading, or keeping of her otherwise ;
 “ which we pray your lordship may be done with
 “ some expedition. And so we humbly take our
 “ leave.”

On this occasion, the proprietors, and captors were deprived of the greater part of those shares which they claimed, and naturally expected. A celebrated naval writer (o) hath remarked that the queen's adventure, in this voyage, consisted only of two ships, the smallest of which was at the taking of the carrack. Of this title, joined to her royal authority, she so effectually availed herself, that the individuals who had engaged in the enterprize were obliged to submit themselves to her pleasure, and thus suffered by extortions. This circumstance is a melancholy proof that the authority of the sovereign was not, in that despotic *Æra*, controulable by law. Raleigh, with great humility, and earnestness, intreated, but ineffectually, the covetous Elizabeth to accept of an hundred thousand pounds, in lieu of all demands ; and he observed that the present, which the proprietors were willing to make her, of eighty thousand pounds, was the greatest that ever prince had received from a subject (p).

It hath been observed that whilst Sir Walter Raleigh remained at home, his great genius displayed itself in all the employments worthy of a citizen, in a free state. He shone in the senate, as a patriot, and the remains of his speeches leave us in doubt whether we ought to admire most his force of eloquence, or the extent of his understanding. Of learned men, he was the avowed patron, and all public undertakings were promoted by his encouragement ; a sanction which
 carried

(o) Sir William Monfon, p. 181.

(p) Strype, V. 4. p. 128, 129.

carried with it a greater weight, as, at this *Æra*, he was one of the declared favourites of the queen (*q*).

During his abode within the court, Raleigh prevailed too powerfully in seducing the affections of one of the ladies of honour to Elizabeth. The fair object of his addresses was the daughter of Sir Nicholas Throckmorton. Disgrace succeeded to the gratification of their love; and when the pregnancy of the unhappy female had advanced too far to be concealed, she was driven from the palace, whilst her admirer, notwithstanding that he had repaired the injury by giving her his hand, in marriage, became equally exposed to the displeasure of his sovereign (*r*). At this juncture, and in order that he might be restored to favour, Raleigh addressed a letter to Sir Robert Cecil, who was undoubtedly requested to inform the queen of its contents. As they prove to what base, and ridiculous excesses the arts of flattery were carried even by one of the most spirited, and accomplished heroes of his time, and present us, also, with a striking picture of the vanity of Elizabeth, who, at the age of sixty, could be delighted with such an abject strain of gallantry, it cannot be improper to insert them.

“ My heart was never broke until this day, that I
 “ hear that the queen goes away so far off, whom I
 “ have followed so many years, with so great love,
 “ and desire, in so many journies, and am now left
 “ behind her, in a dark prison, all alone. While she
 “ was yet near at hand that I might hear of her, once
 “ in two, or three days, my sorrows were the less;
 “ but

(*q*) Campbell's *Lives of the Admirals*, V. 2. p. 58.—
 D'Ewes, p. 478. 484. 488. 490.—Hayward Townshend's
Historical collections, folio, p. 65.—Naunton's *Fragmenta*
Regalia—Lloyd's *State Worthies*.

(*r*) Birch's *Memoirs of queen Elizabeth*, V. 1. p. 79.

" but even now my heart is cast into the depth of all
 " misery. I, that was wont to behold her riding like
 " Alexander ; hunting like Diana ; walking like Venus ;
 " the gentle wind blowing her fair hair, about her
 " pure cheeks, like a nymph ; sometimes sitting in the
 " shade, like a goddess ; sometimes singing like an
 " angel ; sometimes playing like Orpheus. Behold the
 " sorrow of this world ! Once amiss hath bereaved me
 " of all. O glory ! that only shineth in misfortune,
 " what is become of thy assurance ? All wounds have
 " scars but that of fantasie ; all affections their re-
 " lenting but that of womankind. Who is the judge
 " of friendship, but adversity ? Or when is grace wit-
 " nessed but in offences ? There were no divinity,
 " but by reason of compassion ; for revenges are
 " brutish, and mortal. All those times past, the
 " loves, the sighs, the sorrows, the desires, cannot
 " they weigh down one frail misfortune ? Cannot one
 " drop of gall be hid in so great heaps of sweetness ?
 " I may then conclude, Spes, et Fortuna, Valet. She
 " is gone, in whom I trusted, and of me hath not one
 " thought of mercy, nor any respect of that which
 " was. Do with me now, therefore, what you list.
 " I am more weary of life, than they are desirous that
 " I should perish ; which, if it had been for her, as it
 " is by her, I had been too happily born (s). "

It was during this retirement that Raleigh meditated
 the discovery of Guiana, and drew up instructions for
 captain Whiddon, an officer of great experience,
 whom he sent to survey the coast, and who returned
 with a favourable report of the riches of the country,
 and the possibility of subduing it. From this moment,
 Sir Walter resolved to undertake the voyage, and, ac-
 cordingly, fitted out a squadron of ships, partly at his
 own

(s) Murden, p. 657.

own expence, and partly by the pecuniary assistance of the lord high-admiral Howard, and of Sir Robert Cecil (r).

On the sixth of February, in the year, one thousand, five hundred, and ninety-five, he sailed from Plymouth, and on the twenty-second of March, arrived at the island of Trinidad. Here, he easily reduced the small city of Saint Joseph, and took prisoner, Antonio Boreo, the Spanish governour, who fully described to him the neighbouring continent, and the trade to those parts which had not hitherto been explored by any adventurers from England. On this information, he quitted the ship at Trinidad, and, attended by an hundred men, proceeded in several small barks, during a course of four hundred miles, up the river Oronoque, in search of Guiana. Carrapana, and other petty princes of the country, resigned, through his hands, their sovereignties to Elizabeth. Yet such was the intense heat of the weather, and the violence of the rains, that he was compelled to retire in as much danger of being borne down by the rapid torrents of water, as crushed by the rage, and power of his enemies. When the inhabitants of Cumana refused to pay the stipulated ransom for their town, he reduced it to ashes; and, having next levelled Saint Mary's, and Rio de la Hacha, to the ground, returned, with all his valuable acquisitions, to England. A naval writer (u) hath remarked that, concerning the whole of his proceeding, the manner of his entering within this hidden country, and making a farther progress in the space of a month, than the Spaniards had done in half a century; of the nature of the soil, and the certainty of finding many, and rich mines of gold, Sir Walter hath left us so fair,

so

(r) Campbell, V. 2. p. 59.

(u) Ibid. V. 2. p. 60.

so copious, and so well written a relation, that if his subsequent unfortunate voyage had not thrown a shade over so bright a prospect, we could scarcely render a reason why Guiana should not, at this period, have been as thoroughly known, and, as completely settled by the English, as Virginia. With due deference to the judgment of this historian, and all proper veneration for the name of Raleigh, it would, in our opinion, be difficult to avoid subscribing to the assertion that, at his return, he published an account of Guiana, full of the grossest, and most palpable lies that ever were attempted to be imposed on the credulity of mankind (x). Not less improbable than the fables of this celebrated adventurer is the attestation of a foreign author (y), who, in his description of Manoa, the capital of the empire of Guiana, observes that every vessel within the palace was either of gold, or of silver; that in the royal wardrobe were hollow statues of gold, which seemed giants; and that there were figures of the same metal, in full proportion, representing all the beasts, birds, trees, and herbs that the earth brings forth, and all the fishes that the sea, or waters of his kingdom breed. Finally, there was nothing in his country, whereof he had not the counterfeit in gold.

As we have ventured to dispute the veracity of the account relative to the riches discovered within the empire of Guiana, it seems necessary, in point of candour, that we should lay some remarks, written by Sir Walter Raleigh, before the reader, whose opinion should not be biassed, even by a suppression of confident assertions. "Because there have been divers
" Opi-

(x) Hume's History of England, 8vo. V. 5. p. 377.

(y) Fran. Lopez de Gomara. Hist. gen. de las Ind. Cap.

" opinions conceived of the gold ore brought from
 " Guiana ; and because an alderman of London, and
 " an officer of her majesty's mint, have reported that
 " it is of no value, I have thought good, by the ad-
 " dition of these lines, to give answer as well to that
 " malicious slander, as to other objections. It is true
 " that whilst we were at the island of Trinidad, I was
 " informed by an Indian that not far from the port,
 " where we anchored, there were found certain mi-
 " neral stones, which they esteemed to be gold, and
 " were confirmed in their opinion, because they had
 " seen both Englishmen, and Frenchmen gather, and
 " load vast quantities of it. Upon this probability,
 " I sent forty men, and gave orders that each of them
 " should bring a stone of that mine, to make an essay
 " of the goodness of it, which being done, I assured
 " them at their return, that it was marcasite, and of no
 " value ; notwithstanding which, several trusting more
 " to their own opinion than my knowledge, kept of
 " that marcasite, and have made essay of it since my
 " return, at several places. In Guiana, I never saw
 " marcasite ; but all the rocks and mountains, all
 " the stones in the plains, woods, and by the sides of
 " the river are, in effect, throughout shining, and
 " seem to be vastly rich, which being proved to be no
 " marcasite, are the true signs of rich minerals, but
 " are no other than el madre del oro, (or the mother
 " of gold,) as the Spaniards call it, or, as others call it,
 " the scum of gold. My company brought also of
 " divers sorts of these in England, every one taking
 " the most beautiful to be the best, which is not al-
 " ways a rule. For my part, I did not contradict
 " any man's desire, or opinion, and should have al-
 " lowed them very little liberty, if I had denied them
 " the pleasure of satisfying themselves in this point ;
 VOL. IV. G " but

“ but I was convinced that gold must be found either
“ in grains, separate from the stone, as it is in most
“ of the rivers of Guiana, or else in a kind of hard
“ stone which we call the white spar, or flint, which
“ I endeavoured to break, by all the means I could,
“ because there appeared, on the outside some small
“ grains of gold; and, in a cleft, after much difficulty,
“ with our daggers, and the head of an axe,
“ we got out a small quantity of it. Of this kind of
“ white stone, in which gold engenders, we saw many
“ hills, and rocks, in every part of Guiana, through
“ which we travelled; and of this, there have been
“ many trials made. In London, it was first essayed
“ by Mr. Westwood, a refiner, in Wood-street; and it
“ held after the rate of twelve or thirteen thousand
“ pounds a ton. There was some of it again tried by
“ Mr. Palmer, comptroller of the mint; and Mr.
“ Dimmock, in goldsmiths-hall, and it held twenty-six
“ thousand, and nine hundred pounds, a ton. There
“ was also, at the same time, and by the same persons,
“ a trial made of the dust of the same mine,
“ which held eight pounds, and six ounces weight of
“ gold, in the hundred. There was, likewise, at the
“ same time, a trial of an image of copper, made in
“ Guiana, which held a third part of gold; besides
“ several trials, made in the country, and by others,
“ in London. But, because there came bad with the
“ good, and, belike, the said alderman was not presented
“ with the best, he was pleased to lay a scandal
“ upon all the rest, and to disparage the enterprize,
“ to the utmost of his power. It has also been concluded
“ by many that, if there had been any such
“ ore in Guiana, and I had discovered it, I should
“ have brought home a greater quantity; but, first
“ I was not bound to satisfy any body of the quantity,
“ ty,

"ty, excepting those who were adventurers, if any
 "store had been returned; but it is very true that had
 "all their mountains been of massy gold, it was im-
 "possible for us to have made any longer stay to have
 "wrought it; and whosoever hath seen with what
 "strength of stone the best gold ore is encompassed,
 "will not think it easy to be had out in heaps, espe-
 "cially by us, who had neither men, instruments, or
 "time to perform it."

In the year, one thousand, five hundred, and ninety-five, Sir Walter Raleigh equipped, at his own charge, two vessels, named the *Delight*, and the *Discoverer*, the command of which was given to captain Kemys, who sailed in them to Guiana, for the double purpose of prosecuting his discoveries, and of affording the promised succour to the Indians, during that period, engaged in war against the Spaniards, who opposed them with such unrelenting severity, as betrayed an intention, not only to subdue, but totally to extirpate them. Kemeys, at his return to England, published an account of his expedition (z). A naval writer (a) on whom, (perhaps only when with too much enthusiasm, he extols the conduct of his heroes,) we cannot absolutely rely, observes that it might have converted to the sentiments of Sir Walter Raleigh, respecting the empire of Guiana, all whom either invincible ignorance, or over-weening prejudice had not destined to remain infidels.

We have already entered (b) so minutely into the particulars connected with the celebrated expedition to Cadiz, where the conduct, and intrepidity of Sir

G 2 Walter

(z) Hackluyt, V. 3. p. 683.

(a) Campbell, V. 2. p. 61.

(b) See from the 329th to the 389th page of the second volume of this work.

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Walter Raleigh were gloriously conspicuous, that it becomes needless to resume the subject. Let us proceed therefore, to observe that, at his return, our illustrious adventurer applied with ardour to the renewal of his attempt for the effectual establishment of a commercial intercourse with the people of Guiana. Thither at the commencement of the year, one thousand, five hundred, and ninety-seven, he dispatched the *Watt*, a large, and well-provided pinnace, under the command of captain Leonard Berrie, who, on his arrival, in the month of March, was admitted to a friendly and communicative conversation, with the inhabitants of the coast, who revealed all circumstances, within their knowledge, which bore the least relation to the state, and opulence of the higher country. This expedition (from which Berrie returned to Plymouth on the twenty-eighth of the following month of June) hath been considered (c) as an indubitable proof of two facts; first, that Sir Walter himself was in earnest with regard to this discovery; otherwise there can be no cause alleged, why, having so many matters of importance upon his hands, he should busy himself in an undertaking of this kind; secondly, that no hopes could, on such an occasion, be better founded than his own, since the account which hath been given of the voyage, is not liable to any just objections (d). It is not to the preceding remark, that the compiler of this work can implicitly assent; but he reserves, for another place, a review of those materials, by which he hath been taught to form a different opinion.

The next important public service, during which we trace the active intrepidity of Raleigh, is the expedition

(c) Campbell, V. 2. p. 68.

(d) Hackluyt, V. 3. p. 692.

pedition to the Azores, an event of which a copious relation hath been already given (e). In the following year, he was again a member of the house of commons, and distinguished himself by his patriotism, and by his service to the crown; a line of conduct which is too justly observed to have been in later periods, deemed absolutely inconsistent (f). Availing himself of a firm interest with Elizabeth, he procured an exoneration of some intolerable impositions, and, by his importance in the senate, facilitated the advancement of the supplies. Indulgences were likewise obtained through his interference, for the tanners, in Cornwall, and to these, as to all the poor, he approved himself a rational, and speedy advocate. In the year one thousand, five hundred, and ninety-nine, he was appointed vice-admiral of the fleet, the rapid equipment of which was regarded by the powers of Europe, with equal apprehension, and surprize (g). Although he did not enjoy this honour longer than the space of a single month, yet it must be considered as a striking proof of that favourable opinion which was conceived of him by Elizabeth, since, during that period, she had equal reason to dread domestic troubles, and invasions from abroad. In the year, one thousand, and six hundred, he accompanied the lord Cobham, into Holland; and, after having been admitted to a conference with prince Maurice, of Nassau, returned to England, where the queen advanced him to the government of the isle of Jersey, but reserved, from the annual profits of that employment, three hundred pounds;

G 3

to

(e) See from the 398th to the 422d page of the second volume of this work.

(f) Campbell, V. 2. p. 70.

(g) See the 425th, 426th, and 427th page of the second volume of this work.

to be disposed of in such a manner as she should deem the most fitting (*h*).

We next observe Sir Walter Raleigh engaged, with others, in quelling the insurrection of the earl of Essex, the enemy whom he most hated, and whose life he fought for by those flagitious arts which are but little short of murder. The variance that broke out between these jealous candidates for martial fame, in consequence of the action at the island of Fayal (*i*), gave rise to animosities which were buried only in the grave. We might be taxed with wandering far beyond the necessary limits of this work, did we enter into a minute relation of the ridiculous, but not less aggravating devices, by which such violent, and ambitious rivals, endeavoured, at one moment (*k*) to excite the compassion, and, at another moment (*l*), to engross the admiration of the queen. Be it sufficient to introduce some obvious reflections on the partial narrative of a celebrated writer (*m*), who, like a multitude of historians, to exalt the fame of Raleigh, hath depressed the character of Essex. After having remarked that Sir Christopher Blunt proposed to the latter, the assassination of the former, he adds, that it was judged impracticable. What conclusion can be drawn from these words, except that Essex only objected to the intention of destroying Raleigh, because it must have

(*h*) Campbell, V. 2. p. 71.

(*i*) See the 405th, and 406th pages of the second volume of this work.

(*k*) Birth's Memoirs, p. 444. 445.—Sydney's Papers, V. 2. p. 196.—Sydney's Letters, V. 2. p. 151—159.

(*l*) Clarendon's Disparity, printed in the Reliquiæ Wottonianæ, 4th Edit. 1685, p. 190.—Walpole's royal, and noble Authors, Article Essex.—Bacon's Papers, V. 2. p. 438.—Oldys's Life of Raleigh, folio, p. 132.

(*m*) Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 71.

have been difficult to execute it? When a crime so horrid in its nature is imputed to a nobleman, whose name, in spite of all his blemishes, and vices, is still mentioned by posterity, with a degree of reverence, it becomes necessary that we should place a series of facts, in a more candid, and incontrovertible point of view. The parties who are the subject of this particular discussion, as naval heroes, have placed their personal intrepidity beyond the reach of censure. It is not, therefore, without the concern resulting from a disappointed wish to mark the characters of each as irreproachable, that, in the present work, we follow the dictates of rigid justice, and, having cleared the innocence of Essex, proceed to the ascertainment of the turpitude of Raleigh. The scheme for depriving Sir Walter of his life was recommended by Sir Christopher Blunt, and others, to Sir Ferdinando Gorges (n); but it doth not indisputably appear that the earl was either privy, or consenting to it; nay, there is reason to suppose from the commendations which he bestowed on the subsequent behaviour of Gorges, that the news of the perpetration of such an act would have been received by him, with equal horror and resentment. Had there existed a premeditated design to commit the murder, it certainly could not have been judged impracticable; as Raleigh, who sent for Gorges, was alone, whilst the latter came attended by a force, at least sufficient to assist him in the execution of such a deed. In the manuscript, written purposely to vindicate himself from the imputation of betraying

G 4

Essex,

(n) "Declaration of the practices, and treasons attempted, and committed by Robert, late earl of Essex, and his accomplices, against her majesty, and her kingdoms," printed by Robert Barker, printer to the queen, 4to, 1601.

Essex, at this meeting, he declares that he revealed the contents of the message to the earl, who, having advised with the select couucil, at Drury-house (o), answered that he made no objection to an interview upon the Thames, but deemed it necessary that in order to facilitate his return, he should take a guard, and not venture to approach the shore. The following is an account, drawn up by Gorges (p), of the conference between him, and Sir Walter Raleigh. "When his boat came to me, he, being all alone, and I, having two gentlemen, he told me, that he had sent for me to admonish me to make all haste out of the town, down to my charge (q), there being a warrant out for the sending me to the fleet. For this kind advertisement, I gave him thanks; but told him withal, because I knew that the present occasion would soon discover itself, that it came too late, for that I had engaged myself in another matter. He further inquired of me what it was? I told him that there were two thousand gentlemen who had resolved, that day, to live, or die freemen. He protested unto me that he heard not of it, until that morning, but did not see what they were able to do against the queen's authority. My answer was that it was the abuse of that by him, and others, which made so many honest

(o) Of this junto were Sir Charles Davers, (to whom the place belonged,) the earl of Southampton, Sir Christopher Blunt, Sir John Davies, John Littleton, Sir Ferdinando Gorges, and others.

(p) A brief answer to certain false, slanderous, and idle objections made against Sir Ferdinando Gorges, Knight, as if he had been a man on purpose employed to practise the ruin of the late earl of Essex, &c. Written by himself, in the Gatehouse. June 14, 1601. MS. Bibl. Cott. Julius. F. 7. fol. 428. cap. 2.

(q) Gorges was governour of Plymouth fort.

"honest men resolve to seek a reformation thereof.
 "His reply was no man is without a colour for his
 "intent, and advised me to look to myself, and to re-
 "member my duty, and allegiance; I answered
 "that I knew not any man, who did not more re-
 "spect his allegiance, than his life, as the end
 "would make apparent; and thus we parted, he to
 "the court, and I to Essex-House. If it be demanded
 "of me why I did not then take Sir Walter Raleigh;
 "first, it was not a matter, I ever proposed, & although
 "many persuaded me so to do; secondly, I never held
 "it an act fitting amongst men to betray any that re-
 "pose trust in us; and he, putting himself into my
 "hands, with what honesty could I have avowed so
 "barbarous a deed, unless he had given me the first
 "occasion, by 'violent deeds, or unkind words,' for
 "either of which I was both resolved, and prepared.
 "At my return, I delivered unto my lord what had
 "passed between Sir Walter Raleigh, and myself,
 "which he received with applause (*r*), as may be testifi-
 "ed by those who were present, and are yet alive.
 "The reason why I acknowledge that I had means to
 "have taken, or to have killed Sir Walter Raleigh
 "was the better to make it appear that 'there was nei-
 "ther malicious, nor butcherous course intended to him,
 "or any;' and also to give him cause to acknowledge
 "himself in that respect beholden unto me; whereby to
 "take from him occasion to exercise his power, (which
 "I knew to be great, at that juncture,) to my ruin.
 "For I did believe that he could not, in reason, be
 "so

(*r*) It is almost unnecessary to ask whether if Essex wished
 for the assassination of Raleigh, he would have commended
 the conduct of Gorges, who did not offer him the least vio-
 lence, even when it was, probably, in his power to commit
 a murder.

“so void of human respect, as not to requite one
 “courtesy with another; as also that it was no matter
 “of treason against her majesty, but rather a mani-
 “festation to the contrary, approving this intent
 “to be particular against Sir Walter Raleigh, and
 “others.”

The historian observes that ‘when the mischief broke out, Sir Walter did his duty; and no more than his duty (s).’ The result of farther inquiries will leave us sensible of the fallacy of this assertion. Did he not exceed the limits of his duty, by strenuously endeavouring to persuade Sir Robert Cecil, (even in the very moment when that statesman began to melt into compassion for the unhappy criminal,) that it was necessary to enforce the execution of the earl of Essex? Is it possible that a different construction can be put upon the sentence “If you take it for a good counsel to
 “relent towards this tyrant, you will repent it when
 “it may be too late?” Should the meaning of these words appear ambiguous, it certainly is explained in a subsequent expression in the letter, of which a copy will be submitted to the reader; “But if the father
 “continue, he will be able to break the branches, and
 “tree, root, and all.” It is to be remarked that judgment had been passed on Essex; and, under that idea, it would be difficult to prove than an advice ‘not to relent’ might be applied to the expediency of detaining the earl in prison; or indeed, to any other measure, except that of bringing him to the scaffold. Had Sir Robert Cecil endeavoured to save the life of Essex, although on terms severe, and ignominious to the latter, even then he must have relented; and not relenting, we can consider him only as an accomplice of those flagi-
 tious

(s) Campbell, V. 2. p. 71.

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tious individuals who laboured to effect the extirpation of an aspiring favourite, the equal object of their fear, and detestation. Such were the counsels of Sir Walter Raleigh, a man who hath been represented, by too partial a contemporary (t), as in possession of that eminent, and eccentric worth, which might seem at once to conquer both example, and imitation.

Previous to the conclusion of some necessary remarks on this subject, we shall transcribe, from the hand-writing of Sir Walter Raleigh, a letter addressed to Sir Robert Cecil (u).

Sir,

“ I am not wise enough to give you advice, but if
 “ you take it for a good counsel to relent towards this tyrant, you will repent it, when it may be too late. His
 “ malice is fixed, and will not evaporate by any of
 “ your mild courses; for he will ascribe the alteration to her majesty’s pusillanimity, and not to your
 “ good nature; knowing that you work upon her
 “ humour, and not out of any love towards him. The
 “ less you make him, the less he shall be able to harm
 “ you, and yours. And if her majesty’s favour fail
 “ him, he will again decline to a common person. For
 “ after-revenges, fear them not. For your own father
 “ that was esteemed to be the contriver of Norfolk’s
 “ ruin, yet his son followeth your father’s son, and
 “ loveth him. Humours of men succeed not, but
 “ grow by occasions, and accidents of time, and
 “ power. Somerset made no revenge on the duke of
 “ Northumberland’s hearers. Northumberland, that
 “ now

(t) *Geography Delineated*, by Nathaniel Carpenter, 4to. Oxon. 1625. Lib. ii. Cap. 11. p. 261.

(u) MS. Collection of the earl of Salisbury. See Murdin’s *State-papers*, p. 811.

" now is, thinks not of Hatton's issue Kelloway lives,
 " that murdered the brother of Horsey, and Horsey let
 " him go by all his life-time. I could name you a
 " thousand of those, and, therefore, after-fears are but
 " prophecies, or rather conjectures from causes re-
 " mote. Look to the present, and you do wisely.
 " His son shall be the youngest earl of England, but
 " one (x), and, if his father be now kept down, Will
 " Cecil shall be able to keep as many men at his heels
 " as he, and more too. He may also match in a better
 " house than his, and so that fear is not worth the
 " fearing. But, if the farther continue, he will be able
 " to break the branches, and pull up the tree, root,
 " and all. Lose not your advantage; if you do, I
 " note your destiny.

" Let the queen hold Bothwell while she hath him.
 " He will ever be the canker of her estate, and safety.
 " Princes are lost by security, and preserved by pre-
 " vention. I have seen the last of her good days, and
 " all ours, after his liberty."

Yours, &c. W. R.

Sir W. R. to Sir R. C. 1601.

It is scarcely necessary to ask how the son of Essex
 could, by descent, at least, have been the youngest
 earl of England, but one, unless his father had died
 near the period at which this execrable letter was
 written? From the contents of it, let the reader judge
 whether Raleigh clearly advises Cecil *not to spare* the
 life of his formidable rival. Can there be a difficulty
 in relying on the assertion that he had pressed the
 queen

(x) As *he* could not have enjoyed the earldom, until after
 the decease of his father, doth not this passage prove that
 Raleigh recommended to Cecil, the execution of Essex?

queen to sign a warrant for the execution (y)? Or need we remain any longer at a loss to account for the general hatred which broke out against Raleigh, and raged with redoubled violence, when he was observed placed at a window within the tower, and gazing on the last sufferings of Essex? Yet he solemnly declared that he *shed tears for him when he died*. The charitable confidence with which it is customary to receive the asseverations of individuals who are on the point of launching into eternity, might prevent us, in this instance, from supposing that Sir Walter could advance a falsity; but whilst the letter, the authenticity of which remains unquestionable, can be referred to, it must excite our horror, and astonishment, whensoever we reflect that, at the scaffold, he called on the God of truth to witness that he had *no hand in the death of Essex, nor bore him any ill affection, but always thought that it would have been better for him that the life of this lord had been preserved* (z). At the place of execution, criminals have uttered words, in the hope that if they were believed, a pardon might ensue. Perhaps, Raleigh had amused himself with the idea that he could have softened James, by a public protestation of his innocence, in regard to the persecution of the earl of Essex, with whom the king had corresponded, and whose memory he respected. It is a melancholy consideration that here, where he should have been most defensible, we cannot vindicate the hero who is yet ranked amongst the great preservers of his country. His last assertions are imputed to an anxiety for life, in order to extenuate a conduct which it is more than difficult to justify.

One

(y) Campbell, V. 2. p. 71.

(z) See the last speech of Raleigh, in his life, by Oldys, p. 230.

One of the warmest partizans of Sir Walter Raleigh, after having observed that he established his advice, in the preceding letter, on his concern for the safety of Elizabeth, adds, that in this respect, he had the concurrence of the earl, who declared to the preachers sent to attend, and to worm out his secrets, in prison, that the queen could never be safe whilst he lived (a). We are more inclined to believe authorities from which we learn that these were not the sentiments of Essex, but the inventions of his enemies; although (to use the words of a discerning writer,) it is likely that this proof of penitence, and concern for Elizabeth would produce a contrary effect to what they intended, and would revive all that fond affection which she had so long indulged towards the unhappy prisoner (b). It is not probable that if Essex had considered his execution as necessary for the preservation of the queen, he would have declared immediately after the sentence was pronounced against him, that "he should be sorry if he were represented to Elizabeth, as a person who despised her clemency," although he should not (he believed) make any cringing submissions to obtain it (c). But no circumstance whatsoever hath rendered the report of his having insisted on the expediency of his death more groundless than that wherein we trace the wife of Nottingham secreting from his sovereign the ring which he had charged her to deliver (d). It is beyond a doubt that he sent this pledge of future mercy in the full confidence that he should receive a pardon.

The

(a) Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 72.

(b) Hume's History of England, 8vo. V. 5. p. 430.

(c) Ibid. p. 428.—Walpole's royal, and noble authors, V. 1. p. 147. Article Essex.

(d) See the 432d, 433d, and 434th pages of the second volume of this work.

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The reader may also remember the assertion that Essex addressed to Elizabeth a letter, which Wiseman, a follower of his fortunes, either wilfully, or through forgetfulness, neglected to present in time sufficient for the hindrance of the execution of the judgment (e). To one of these events, we may suppose that Sir Walter Raleigh alluded, when he informed doctor Robert Tounson, the dean of Westminster, who attended him in his last moments, that the earl was taken off by a trick. This information was given in private, and, therefore, Tounson hath not inserted it in his letter (f).

A naval Writer (g) hath remarked that "it is not at all impossible that those artful statesmen, (who had so much address as to make the populace, during that Æra, and, by employing the pen of a learned historian, the world, in general, now believe, that they were seconds only in these quarrels, and that Essex, and Raleigh, were principals,) hated both alike, and contrived to make them ruin each other, by inflaming the earl against Sir Walter first, (which induced the former to write, in the prejudice of the latter to James, the appointed successor to Elizabeth, with whom, by the hands of Mr. Anthony Bacon, he maintained a constant correspondence,) and, afterwards bringing him to the block, (allowing the truth of these informations,) that they might run no hazard (in a new reign,) from the abilities of Raleigh. It is added that the conjecture hath been rendered probable, from the whole thread of the relation, and
" that

(e) Consult Note b, at the bottom of the 432d page of the second volume of this work.

(f) Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 99. Written by Dean Tounson, to Sir John Isham, of Lamport, in Northamptonshire, and still preserved in the family.

(g) Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 75.

“that it would not be a very difficult task to prove
“that it was really probable, from incontestable au-
“thorities. So easily, within a court, can malice,
“and cunning, obtain advantages over valour, and
“abilities.” With this passage, we quit the sub-
ject, and leave the reader to his own conclusions.

In the summer of the year, one thousand, six hundred, and one, Sir Walter Raleigh attended the queen, during her progress; and, on the arrival of the duke de Biron, in the character of an ambassador from the court of France, he was directed to treat with him concerning the nature of his negotiations. During the last parliament, in the reign of Elizabeth, he was an active member, and distinguished himself, on all occasions, by opposing such bills as, under colour of deep policy were contrived for the oppression of the meaner sort of people, amongst which was the act whereby every man was compelled to till a third part of his own ground; nor was he less ready to countenance such laws as bore hard upon the rich, and even upon the trading part of the community; where it was evident that private interests, clashed with public benefits, and there was a necessity of hurting some, for the sake of doing good to the majority of the public. This proves that he had a just notion of popularity, and could well distinguish between deserving, and desiring it. In support of this assertion, let it be observed that he promoted a law for the restriction of the exportation of ordnance, which, until that period, had proved highly advantageous to such individuals as were concerned in this particular branch of commerce, but of inexpressible detriment to the nation, as being the great source of the power which the enemy maintained at sea, the Spanish navy not making use of any cannon,

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non, except that which was obtained from England (A).

It hath been allowed that in the point of monopolies, his conduct was more open to the severity of censure; yet, even here, he is observed to have given proofs that he made a moderate use of the grants which he had obtained from the crown, offering to surrender his own freely, on condition that the rest might all be cancelled (A).

It may not, in this part of the memoir, be improper to observe that at the commencement of the year, one thousand, six hundred, and two, Sir Walter Raleigh employed William Mace, a native of Weymouth, to proceed on a voyage to Virginia, in search of the adventurers who had been left there towards the close of the preceding century. Having sailed nearly forty leagues to the south-westward of Hatarask, in the latitude of thirty-four degrees, he loitered there, during a month, inattentive to the purposes of his enterprize, and, at length, returned, pretending that the inclemency of the weather, and the loss of his ground-tackle had deterred him from examining the situation of the harbour to which he was directed to repair.

The chief commodities which Mace obtained, at Hatarask, were China root, Benzoin, saffrafras, and cassia.

At the decease of Elizabeth, Sir Walter Raleigh was not without hopes that he might enjoy the favour of her successor, with whom he had endeavoured to ingratiate himself, by a variety of splendid presents,

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and

(A) Campbell's *Lives of the Admirals*, V. 2. p. 76.

(i) Heyward Townsend's *Collections*, and Sir Simon D'Ewes's *Journal of the Parliaments of Elizabeth*.—Campbell's *Lives of the Admirals*, V. 1. p. 76.

and other testimonies of respect (*k*). He was, notwithstanding, well assured that Essex had endeavoured to fill the mind of James with prejudices against him, but these he expected to wear out by an assiduous service. When the king had arrived in England, he was admitted to his presence, and as this interview gave rise to more, Raleigh embraced an opportunity of discovering an inclination and a capacity to serve him. Yet not long after the accession, he was coolly treated, and felt the mortification of discovering that Sir Robert Cecil, who had been his friend, and associate, during the contest against the earl of Essex, foreseeing that if he became the favourite of James, his own administration would be dissolved, drew such a character of him to the prince, as he thought would be most likely to disgust him; censuring, in the severest terms, the martial disposition of Sir Walter, and insinuating that it would lead him to form projects which must naturally terminate in a rupture between England, and the neighbouring states (*l*). In revenge for this treatment, Raleigh drew up a memorial wherein he plainly proved that the appearance of loyalty which the Cecils had maintained for James, was not the effect of choice, but of compulsion; that, in reality, the intrigues of one of that family had brought Mary, the queen of Scotland, to the block; and that they never thought of promoting his succession, until they perceived that it must take place, in spite of their endeavours to prevent it (*m*). The memorial was far from being

(*k*) Heylin's *Examen Historicum*, p. 170.—A brief relation of Sir Walter Raleigh's troubles, p. 1.

(*l*) Campbell's *Lives of the Admirals*, V. 2. p. 77.—Baker's *Chronicle*.—Osborne's *Memorial of the reign of James*.

(*m*) Welwood's notes in Kennet's *history of England*, V. 2. p. 663, 664.

being followed by those consequence which Sir Walter had expected, although in not having distrusted the success of it, he appears a stranger to the temper of the king. At this period, James observed the power of Cecil, and imagined that he had need of it. Thus, forgetful that it was the result of his own favour, he became dependant upon him, as he was, afterwards, upon Buckingham, whom, during a series of years, he trusted, but did not love (n). These circumstances, added to his aversion from all martial enterprizes, induced him to discountenance the views of Raleigh; and, perhaps, to proceed to lengths more violent; a supposition which it is allowable to indulge, if we are so just to the memory of Cecil, as to believe that he did not become the enemy of Raleigh, without having first received a personal offence. Be this as it may, Sir Walter, in spite of this respectful, and assiduous attendance within the court, was regarded with indifference. To such a treatment may naturally be ascribed his determination to maintain a closer intercourse with individuals under the same predicament, and who were formerly his friends. This step conducted him, at length, to his ruin (o).

Amongst these associates was the lord Cobham, thoughtless in his conduct, wavering in his principles, and possessed of an immense estate. At this period, Raleigh was suspected to be of that philosophical sect, which have since increased, from a small number to an extensive multitude, and are, in England, stiled Free-
H 2 Thinkers.

(n) See the earl of Bristol's answer to the articles of high treason, exhibited against him in parliament, printed in Frankland's Annals of King James, and King Charles, p. 127, 128, 129.

(o) Oldys's Life of Sir Walter Raleigh, p. 152, 153.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 78.

Thinkers. The other members of this confederacy were Sir Griffin Markham, Sir Edward Parham, Mr. Copely, and Mr. Broke, the brother to lord Cobham. It is judiciously observed that what cement could unite men of such discordant principles in so dangerous a combination, what end they proposed, or what means proportioned to their undertakings, hath never yet been explained, and cannot easily be imagined (*p*). During the reign of Elizabeth, Cobham had conferred with the duke of Aremberg, a Flemish nobleman, in the service of the king of Spain, and, at that period, residing in England, with the title of ambassador from the archduke, but, in fact, as the negociator of a peace, in favour of the Spaniards. With him, Cobham renewed his acquaintance, and recommended that a large sum of money should be presented to Sir Walter Raleigh, if, instead of opposing, as he had hitherto done, he would forward the peace (*q*). In the mean time, some popish priests, and other disaffected, and designing persons, had framed a plot against the king, and his whole family, which was to be executed by seizing, if not destroying James, and his children; and with some of the conspirators, Cobham also had an intercourse, by means of his brother, Mr. Broke. When this last treason had been discovered, and traced to Aremberg, there arose a suspicion of Cobham; and in consequence of his intimacy with Raleigh, the proceedings of the latter were called in question. All were apprehended, and Cobham, timorous to an extreme, was prevailed on to charge Sir Walter, in his confession, with a variety of crimes. The enemies of Raleigh contrived to blend these treasons together, notwithstanding

(*p*) Hume's History of England, 8vo. V. 6. p. 9.

(*q*) Arraignment of Sir Walter Raleigh, p. 97.

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notwithstanding that they, or, at least, Cecil, knew them to be distinct points; and thus unfavourably he states them, in a letter addressed to Winwood, wherein he discovers an aversion from Sir Walter Raleigh, and, at the same time, his sense of the want of any real evidence which might affect him; yet what appeared deficient in proof, was made up in force, and fraud. The priests, Watson, and Clarke, and Mr. Broke, their associate, were first brought to the bar, and, after a long hearing adjudged guilty. On the seventeenth of November, in the year, one thousand, six hundred, and three, Sir Walter Raleigh was tried at Winchester, and, without any colour of evidence, convicted by the influence of the court, of high treason (*r*). It is too just an observation that the virulent, and low abuse which was thrown out on Raleigh, by the attorney-general, Sir Edward Coke, may be deemed a severe reflection, not only on his own memory, but even, in some degree, on the manners of that age. We learn, that traitor, monster, viper, and spider of hell, were the terms which he employed against one of the most illustrious men in the kingdom, who was under trial for life, and fortune, and who defended himself with temper, eloquence, and resolution (*s*).

Mr. Campbell hath remarked that it may be proved to a demonstration, that the charge exhibited against Sir Walter Raleigh was groundless, if we consider that all the evidence adduced to support the assertion that he engaged in a conspiracy to seize the king and his

H 3

whole

(*r*) Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 79.—
Winwood's Memorials, V. 2. p. 8.—Oldys's Life of Raleigh, folio. p. 157.

(*s*) Hume's History of England, 8vo. V. 6. p. 10.—
State Trials, 1st Edit. p. 176, 177—182.

whole family, was the hearsay testimony of Mr. Broke, the purport of which seems to have been that his brother Cobham should have observed that "it would never be well until the Fox, and his cubs, were taken off;" and, afterwards, speaking to this Broke, that "he, lord Grey, and others, were only on the bye; but Raleigh, and himself were on the main;" intimating that they were only trusted with less important matters, but that the capital part of the conviction was concerted between him, and Sir Walter (t). Yet when Broke suffered, and that, not undeservedly, he, on his own confession, retracted this circumstance, affirming that he never heard his brother, the lord Cobham, make use of that phrase, relative to the Fox, and Cubs (u); and thus, did he destroy the credit of the other story which had been grounded on the expression. In support of this fact, may be produced the undeniable authority of the lord Cecil, afterwards Earl of Salisbury, who applauds Broke, for discovering this remorse, during his last moments (x). So, from the testimony of his chief enemy, breaks forth the innocence of Sir Walter Raleigh, who, constantly, and judiciously, at his trial, distinguished between the extraordinary imputation of treason, and the conferences with Aremberg. Of the former, he denied the least knowledge; but, with regard to the latter, confessed that Cobham had talked to him concerning a large present, on the condition that he should promote a peace with Spain. It was on this occasion, that

(t) Sir Thomas Overbury's copy of the arraignment of Sir Walter Raleigh, p. 12.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 80.

(u) Winwood's Memorials, V. 2. p. 8.

(x) Ibid.

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that he remonstrated, in severe terms, against a sentence which inflicted death only because he had once heard a vain man speak incoherent language (y).

Although the law made no distinction between Sir Walter Raleigh, and the rest of the supposed conspirators, yet James was more lenient and did not sign the warrant for his execution (z); but, on the contrary, projected that extraordinary contrivance of bringing the lords Cobham, and Grey, together with Sir Griffin Markham, to the block, and then granting them a reprieve, purely to discover the truth of the allegations of Cobham, against Raleigh, and also to try what the fear of death might induce the other to confess (a). As these expedients proved fruitless, James relinquished all thoughts of taking away the life of Raleigh; and if the latter laboured, during some time, under an uncertainty whether he should obtain this mercy, it must be attributed rather to the malice of his powerful adversaries than to any ill intention of the king, on whose clemency, Sir Walter, if we may judge from passages in his letters, places great dependence (b). The historian (c), to whose researches we are so frequently indebted, observes that he did not advance an opinion of this nature with any view of apologizing for the conduct of James, but from a respect due to truth, and that it might appear how dangerous it is to live under a prince, who suffers himself to be absolutely directed by his ministers, since not only the vices of such a monarch are destructive, but even his virtues become useless.

H 4 On

(y) Arraignment of Sir Walter Raleigh, p. 101.—106.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 81.

(z) Stowe's Annals, p. 831.

(a) Winwood's Memorials, V. 2. p. 11.

(b) Raleigh's remains, p. 192.

(c) Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 81.

On this occasion, it cannot be improper that (without resting alone on the scrupulous report of facts, which cautious historians, from a strict regard to truth, are inclined to deliver,) we should suggest to the reader what appears to be the reality of this mysterious business. During the preceding reign, the lord Cobham had been connived at in maintaining a correspondence with one Lorenzi, or Laurencie, a Flemish merchant, who was now in England, and forwarded the dispatches of the latter to the Duke of Aremberg. It was the opinion of contemporary writers that Lorenzi (and probably by the direction of Aremberg,) disclosed the secret to Sir Robert Cecil, as the surest means of ruining Sir Walter, and the most effectual method of accelerating the treaty of peace with Spain. When Raleigh was arrested, he perceived his danger, but had no apprehension of his accuser, and, therefore, in hopes of disentangling himself, he, by letter, directed Sir Robert Cecil, where to find Cobham, and Lorenzi. When this letter was discovered to the former, he became incensed, and from motives of revenge, accused Raleigh, who yet appears not to have been connected with any fact, except the correspondence between Cobham, and the duke of Aremberg. Had there been any veracity in the charge advanced by Cobham, Raleigh, instead of giving up that lord, and Lorenzi, would, in reality, have been furnishing two witnesses against himself. The plain truth then appears to be that Aremberg considered the plot as an absurd, and impracticable undertaking; but, at the same time, judged that he should greatly forward the interests of his court, by procuring Sir Walter Raleigh to be involved in it; a light in which James, and his ministers, appear afterwards to have considered the affair. It will scarcely

scarcely be doubted whether this event did not increase the hatred which Raleigh had conceived against the Spaniards. From them, an inveterate antipathy pressed with superior violence on this great, and persecuted individual, until, at length, Gondomar, pursuing the blow which had been given by Aremburg, brought Sir Walter to the block. Well, therefore, may this treason be filed now, as during that *Æra*, Raleigh's Riddle, but, in nothing more so, than in the circumstance that through the intrigues of two Spanish ministers, the most inveterate enemy of Spain was brought to an untimely end for having, as it was pretended, entered into a correspondence with Spain, against a prince who had seen through the whole contrivance, so many years before he gave orders for his execution (*d*).

In the month of December, Sir Walter Raleigh was remanded to the tower, in which place, his wife, who had presented a Petition for that purpose, was allowed to visit him. This indulgence became succeeded by a valuable mark of favour, and the king granted all the goods, and chattels, which had been forfeited in

(*d*) Campbell's *Lives of the Admirals*, V. 2. p. 83.—Winwood's *Memorials*. p. 8.—Weldon's *Court, and Character of James*. p. 31.—41.—Aulicus *coquinariz*. p. 74.—97.—Heylin's *Examen historicum*. p. 169—172.—Osborne's *works*, V. 2. p. 107.—Rushworth's *historical collections*. V. 1. p. 9.—*State-Trials*, V. 1. p. 212.—Mr. Hume remarks that it appears from Sully's *Memoirs*, that Raleigh secretly offered his services to the French ambassador; and he adds that we may thence presume that meeting with a repulse from that quarter, he had recourse, for the same unwarrantable purposes to the Flemish ministers. Such a conjecture, we are now enabled to form; but it must be confessed that, on his trial, there appeared no proof of this transaction, nor indeed any circumstance which could justify his condemnation.

in consequence of his conviction, to trustees, whom he was suffered to appoint for the benefit of his family. When a short space of time had elapsed from this (e), his estate also was surrendered; an act of mercy, on which he put too promising a construction, expecting that it might lead to a restoration of that felicity from which he had so lately fallen. He soon felt the disappointment of his hopes, when a new, and ambitious favourite, eager to enrich himself by grants of this kind, discovered a flaw in the conveyance of the estate of Raleigh to his son, which being prior to the attainder, gave the crown a title paramount to that which was understood to be therein, when the forfeiture was granted back to Raleigh. On an information in the court of exchequer, judgment was given for the crown; and the effect of that judgment turned to the benefit of the favourite, who in the year, one thousand, six hundred, and nine, obtained a complete grant of all which had been forfeited by Sir Walter (f). To this insatiable plunderer (g), he addressed the following letter (h), the stile, and sentiments in which may justly claim the notice of the reader.

“ After

(e) Rymer's *Foedera*. V. 16. p. 596.

(f) Campbell's *Lives of the Admirals*, V. 2. p. 83.—
Brief Relation of the Troubles of Sir Walter Raleigh.

(g) Sir Robert Carr, afterwards the earl of Somerset.

(h) It hath been copied, by the learned Mr. Oldys, from the most correct manuscripts. On this occasion it may be necessary to remark that archbishop Tennyson having mentioned in his *Baconiana* * the corrupt copies from which several of the letters in the *Cabala* were printed, adds a particular circumstance relative to the letter addressed by Sir Walter Raleigh, to Sir Robert Carr. He had compared the original with the copy, and found forty material alterations in the latter. Mr. Oldys had access to two manuscript copies, of which one was in the collection of Sir Hans Sloane, and the other in the library of Mr. James West.

* *Octavo*. 1679. p. 77.

" After some great losses, and many years sor-
 " rows, of both which I have cause to fear I was mis-
 " taken in the end, it is come to my knowledge that
 " yourself, whom I know not by any honourable
 " fame, has been persuaded to give me, and mine our
 " last fatal blow, by obtaining from his majesty, the
 " inheritance of my children, and nephew, lost in
 " the law, for want of a word. This done, there
 " remains nothing with me but the name of life,
 " despoiled of all else but the title, and sorrow thereof.
 " His majesty, (whom I never offended, for I ever
 " held it unnatural, and unmanly to hate goodness,)
 " stayed me at the grave's brink not, as I hope, that
 " he thought me worthy of many deaths, and to be-
 " hold all mine cast out of the world with myself, but
 " as a king, who judging the poor in truth, hath
 " received a promise from God, that his Throne shall be
 " established for ever. And, for yourself, Sir, seeing
 " your fair day is but now in the dawn, and mine in
 " the Evening, your own virtues, and the king's grace
 " assuring you of many favours, and much honour,
 " I beseech you not to begin your first building upon
 " the ruins of the innocent; and that their sorrows,
 " with mine, may not attend on your first plantation.
 " I have been ever bound to your nation, as well for
 " many other graces, as for their true report of my
 " trial to his majesty, against whom had I been found
 " malignant, the hearing of my cause would not have
 " changed enemies, into friends, malice into com-
 " passion, and the minds of the greatest number pre-
 " sent into the commiseration of my state. It is not
 " the nature of foul treason to beget such fair pas-
 " sions; neither could it agree with the duty, and love
 " of faithful subjects, especially of your nation, to
 " bewail his overthrow, who had conspired against
 " their

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"their most liberal, and natural love. I, therefore,
 "trust, Sir, that you will not be the first that will
 "kill us outright, cut down the tree, with the fruit,
 "and undergo their curse who enter the field of the
 "fatherless, which, if it please you to know the
 "truth, is far less fruitful in value, than in fame;
 "but that so worthy a gentleman as yourself will ra-
 "ther bind us to your service, being, Sir, gentle-
 "men not base in birth, or alliance, who have in-
 "terest therein; and myself, with utmost thankful-
 "ness, will ever remain ready to obey your com-
 "mandments (i)."

This application proved more than fruitless; and, in the following year, the king granted to Sir Robert Carr, exclusive of Sherborne, and its dependent estates, the manors of Pimford, Primesly, and Barton, in Devonshire, which Raleigh himself had purchased, but which, with his other demesnes were forfeited in consequence of his attainder (k).

Sir Walter Raleigh, with a degree of fortitude, and philosophy, that reflects a lustre on his name, enlivened the gloom of his imprisonment, by the exertions of his learning. It was in the Tower that he digested a great part of the materials for his History of the World, concerning which, a most discerning judge (l) observes, that if the reader can have patience to wade through the Jewish, and Rabbinical learning, which compose the half of the volume, he will find,
 when

(i) This letter in two old copies is dated December 1608.

(k) Case of Carew Raleigh, Esquire, at the committee for the sale of the estates of delinquents. MS. from the collection of the reverend Thomas Baker, of Saint John's College, Cambridge.—Oldys's Life of Raleigh. Folio p. 165.

(l) Hume's History of England, 8vo. V. 6. Appendix. p. 195.

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when he comes to the Greek, and Roman story, that his pains are not unrewarded. Raleigh is deemed the best model of that ancient style which some writers have lately affected to revive.

It was not alone to this laborious work, that Sir Walter limited his great abilities. His mind perpetually active, amidst the durance of the body, became engaged in a variety of studies, the illustrious patron of which was prince Henry (*m*), who hath been justly deemed the glory of the house of Stuart, the darling of the British nation, whilst he lived, and the object of its sincere, and universal grief, at the æra of his untimely death (*n*). One of the last pieces written by Raleigh, within the Tower, is his Discourse of the Invention of Shipping, wherein he mentions of the use, defects, and improvements of the naval arts; the strength, and deficiency of the sea-forces of England, France, Spain and Venice, together with the five causes of the rise of the Hollanders; the necessary encouragement of a mutual friendship between them, and England; and the progress of the Newcastle trade. In his Observations, and Notes concerning the royal Navy, and the Sea-service, he treats, under distinct heads, of the officers of the navy; of some errors to be reformed in ship-building; of mistakes with regard to harbouring, and manning the fleet; of surcharging ships with great ordnance; of the defects in sheathing, and calking; of the abuses in victualling; of the inconveniency of the cook-rooms; of mustering, and impressing mariners; of arms, and ammunition; and

(*m*) It was this gallant youth who, more liberal, and discerning than his father, remarked that no other king but James would keep such a bird as Sir Walter Raleigh, in a cage.

(*n*) Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 85.

and lastly, of captains to serve on board the royal navy. Concerning the art of war, by sea, Sir Walter Raleigh discourses in the following words. "I have written a treatise to the lord Henry, prince of Wales. A subject, to my knowledge, never handled by any man, ancient, or modern; but GOD hath spared me the labour of finishing it, by the loss of that brave prince, of which, like an eclipse of the sun, we shall feel the effects hereafter. Impossible it is to equal words, and follows; I will, therefore, leave him in the hands of GOD that hath him; *Curæ leves loquuntur, ingentes stupent.*" A learned writer ^(a) observes that this work may lead us up to such of his discourses as represent this art, in execution, and particularly those two gallant naval actions wherein Sir Richard Greenville lost his life, and himself won a most signal victory, of which his own pen hath preserved the faithful memorials in his Report of the Truth of the Fight about the Isles of Azores, and his epistolary account of the action at Cadiz ^(p). It is added that his care did not terminate in the best advice for the regulations, and maintenance of the shipping, or in recording some of the most notable achievements performed therewith, but extended to the choice, and reparation of the most convenient harbours, for their reception; and that, not only by his speeches in parliament, but also by a memorial which he presented to Elizabeth, touching the port of Dover, in particular, and declaring how honourable, and profitable to her majesty, and how necessary, and commodious to the realm, the rebuilding

(a) Oldys's Life of Sir Walter Raleigh. Folio. p. 176.

(p) Abridgment of the History of the World, in Raleigh's Remains.

ing of it would be; with the least expensive, and most perfect manner of performing the same (*q*).

Having mentioned the maritime discourses of Sir Walter Raleigh, it may remain necessary, in a work, which is professedly connected with the subject, to introduce a passage from his remarks concerning the invention of shipping; and the rather as it must afford the reader a clear idea of the progress of the naval arts, during that æra (*r*).

“Whosoever was the inventor, we find that every age hath added somewhat to ships, and to all things else. And, in my own time, the shape of our English ships hath been greatly bettered. It is not long since the striking of the top-mast, (a wonderful ease to great ships, both at sea, and in the harbour,) hath been devised, together with the chain-pump, which takes up twice as much water as the ordinary pump did. We have lately added the bonnet (*s*), and the drabler (*t*). To the courses, we have devised studding sails, top-gallant-sails, sprit-sails, and top-sails. The weighing of anchors by the capston is also new. We have fallen into the consideration of cables, and thereby resist the malice of the greatest wind that can blow; witness our small Milbrook-men of Cornwall, that ride it out at anchor, half-seas over, between England, and Ireland, all the winter-quarter;

(*q*) Essay on ways and means, to maintain the honour, and safety of England, 1701.

(*r*) The quotation is made from the genuine Remains of Sir Walter Raleigh, 8vo. 1700.

(*s*) An additional part laced to the bottom of the main-sail, and fore-sail of some small vessels, in moderate winds. See Falconer's Dictionary of the Marine.

(*t*) An additional part of a sail sometimes laced to the bottom of the bonnet of a square sail, in sloops, and schooners. See Falconer's Dictionary of the Marine.

ter ; and witness the Hollanders, who were wont to ride before Dunkirk, with the wind at north-west, making a lee-shore in all weathers. For, true it is that the length of the cable is the life of the ship, in all extremities ; and the reason is because it makes so many bendings, and waves, as the ship riding at that length is not able to stretch it ; and nothing breaks that is not stretched. In extremity, we carry our ordnance better than we were wont, because our nether over-loops (*u*), are raised commonly from the water, between the lower part of the port, and the sea. In the time of king Henry the Eighth, and, in his presence at Portsmouth, the *Mary-Rose* by a little sway of the ship, in casting about, her ports being within six inches of the water, was over-set, and lost, and in her, that worthy knight, Sir George Carew, cousin-german to the lord Carew, now living ; and, with him, besides many other gentlemen, the father of the late renowned Sir Richard Grenville. We have also raised our second decks, and given more vent thereby to their ordnance lying on our nether over-loops. We have added cross-pillars to our royal ships, to strengthen them, which being fastened from the keelson (*x*) to the beams of the second deck, keep them from settling, or giving way in all distresses. We have given longer floors to our ships, than in elder times,

(*u*) Orlop-deck, or a platform of planks laid over the beams, in the hold of a ship of war, whereon the cables are usually coiled, and the several officers store-rooms contained.—See Falconer's Dictionary of the Marine.

(*x*) A piece of timber, which may properly be defined the interior, or counter-part of the keel, (which is the principal piece) as it is laid upon the middle of the floor-timbers immediately over the keel, and, like it, composed of several pieces scarfed together. For a more explicit description, the reader is referred to Falconer's Dictionary of the Marine.

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times, and better bearing under water, whereby they never fall into the sea, after the head, and shake the whole body, nor sink stern, nor stoop upon a wind, by which the breaking loose of our ordnance, or disuse of them, with many other discommodities are avoided. And to say the truth, a miserable shame, and dishonour it were for our ship-wrights, if they did not exceed all others in setting up of our royal ships; the errors of other nations being more excusable than ours; for the kings of England have, for many years, been at the charge, to build, and furnish a navy of powerful ships for their own defence, and for the wars only; whereas the French, Spaniards, Portuguese, and Hollanders, until of late, have had no proper fleet, belonging to their princes, or states (y)."

We shall conclude this subject by observing, in justice to the memory of Raleigh, that the mode of ship-building, towards the close of the sixteenth, and the commencement of the seventeenth century, was regulated according to his inventions, and directions (z). The learned writer of his life (a) is of opinion that to the same purpose of effectually employing his superior knowledge in naval architecture, for the safeguard, and strength of the nation, we may presume that Elizabeth conferred on him the grants for felling of Timber, one of which is still extant (b), and intitled "a warrant to Sir Walter Raleigh for two hundred oaks to be taken from the woods of Sir Francis Englesfield."

VOL. IV.

I

After

(y) Discourse of shipping, p. 16.

(z) Appendix to the History of the Invention of Arts and Sciences, 12mo. 1686.

(a) Mr. Oldys.

(b) In the Ashmolean Museum, at Oxford.

After the decease of Henry, prince of Wales, the queen became the patroness of Raleigh, and steadily defended him against the malignant persecutions of the earl of Somerset. When this abandoned favourite was committed to the tower, his estates became forfeited to the crown; and it was on this occasion that Sir Walter, secure from the attacks of a once formidable adversary, obtained permission, after a confinement of thirteen years, within the tower, to re-assume his liberty. The misfortunes of his life had not inclined him to a love of indolence, and retirement, for which, although the greater part of his possessions had been mercilessly divided amongst his enemies, he yet wanted not a reasonable provision (c). It was his wish to pass the latter Æra of his life, as he had employed the first, in the pursuits of honour, and in the service of his country. Such were the sentiments of this enterprizing, and accomplished hero; if we can rely on his own assertions in the letter addressed to secretary Winwood, who, with equal spirit, discernment and generosity, became his advocate at court, and was the chief instrument of that mercy which (howsoever meanly limited by the misguided James,) restored Raleigh to his freedom, and to the power of subsistence. He feelingly observes "To die for the king, and not by the king, is all the ambition which I have in the word (d)."

As in our account of the attempt made by Raleigh to establish a settlement in Guiana, we may be led to dissent

(c) Prince Henry had attempted, but in vain, to prevail on James to restore his estate; at length, he received as a compensation for the loss of it, the sum of eight thousand pounds.—See Sir Walter Raleigh's Apology. p. 47.

(d) Raleigh's Remains, p. 164.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 85.

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dissent from the opinion of a respectable historian (e),
 whose labours are the ground-work of our own, it
 were a criminal deviation from the laws of candour,
 should we endeavour to suppress those remarks that he
 hath made on a subject, which, although not involved
 in obscurity, is generally misunderstood. He deems
 the measure a laudable emblem of the enterprizing
 genius of Sir Walter, who prosecuted, with unabated
 constancy, that which he had contrived in the true
 spirit of an extraordinary discernment. He adds that
 we must " have seen how many voyages to Guiana
 " Raleigh encouraged, during the reign of Elizabeth,
 " when considering the many great employments
 " which he enjoyed, it might have been thought that
 " his mind would have been otherwise occupied;
 " and, indeed, so it must have been, if he had not
 " been thoroughly persuaded, and that upon the best
 " evidence in the world, his own eye-sight, and
 " judgment, that this was the richest country within
 " the Globe, and the worthiest of being settled, for the
 " benefit of Britain. This persuasion was so strong
 " upon him, that, during his confinement, he held a
 " constant intercourse with the people of Guiana,
 " sending at his own charge, either every year, or
 " every second year, a ship, to keep the Indians in
 " hopes of his performing the promise which he had
 " made them of coming to their assistance, and of de-
 " livering them from the Tyranny, and cruelty of the
 " Spaniards, who now encroached upon them again.
 " In these ships were brought over several natives of
 " that country, with whom Sir Walter conversed in
 " the tower, and from whom, questionless, he re-
 " ceived the clearest, and most distinct intelligence of

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" the

(e) Mr. Campbell.

" the situation, and richness of the mines, that he
 " could possibly desire (*f*). Upon these informa-
 " tions, he offered to the court, the scheme for pro-
 " secuting his discovery, three years before he under-
 " took it in person ; nor was there then any doubt,
 " either to the probability of the measure, or as to
 " its lawfulness notwithstanding the peace that
 " was made with Spain ; otherwise the king would not
 " have made such grants as he did, even at that time ;
 " which shews that he was then convinced that Sir Wal-
 " ter had, in his first voyage, discovered, and taken
 " possession of that country, for the crown of Eng-
 " land ; and that, consequently, his subjects were
 " justly intitled to any benefits that might accrue from
 " this discovery, without the least respect had to the
 " pretensions of the Spaniards (*g*). It may also deserve
 " our notice that when Sir Walter first moved the
 " court, upon this subject, the Spanish match was
 " not thought of, but the wants of James were then
 " extremely pressing, and he may reasonably be pre-
 " sumed to have, at this time, placed as great hopes
 " in the discovery, as he did in that match ; al-
 " though when, afterwards, he began to idolize this
 " project, he grew somewhat out of conceit with that
 " of Sir Walter Raleigh ; so that if the latter had pleas-
 " ed he might, for seven hundred pounds, have obtained
 " an ample pardon, and leave to relinquish his voyage ;
 " but he remaining firm to his purpose, the king,
 " who felt his necessities daily increase, was yet wil-
 " ling that he should proceed in his enterprize, in
 " hopes of his profiting thereby, without losing the
 " prospect which he then had of concluding the Spanish
 " match. Such was the situation of Sir Walter, and,
 " such

(*f*) Raleigh's Apology, p. 52.—55.

(*g*) See Harcourt's voyage to Guiana, 4to. 1613.

SIR WALTER RALEIGH. 133

“such the disposition of the court, when he obtained
“leave to execute his design, and was impowered
“ (but at the expence of himself, and his friends,) to
“ establish a settlement in Guiana (b).”

As the tenor of the commission granted, by James, to Raleigh, will on this occasion, become the subject of inquiry, it may be necessary to present the most material abstract of it to the reader.

“James, by the Grace of God, &c. To all to whom these presents shall come, &c. Whereas Sir Walter Raleigh, knight, intendeth to undertake a voyage, by sea, and shipping, to the south parts of America, or, elsewhere, within America, possessed, and inhabited by heathen and savage people; to discover some commodities, and merchandize, profitable for the subjects of our kingdoms, whereof the inhabitants make little, or no use; whence may ensue, by commerce, some propagation of the Christian faith, and reformed religion, amongst those idolatrous people; and whereas there are divers merchants, &c. well disposed to assist Sir Walter Raleigh, had they assurance to enjoy their due share of the profits returned, Sir Walter Raleigh being under the peril of the law; and whereas divers other gentlemen, his kinsmen, and friends, with several captains, and commanders, are also desirous to follow, and venture their lives with him, if they might be commanded by none but himself; we, upon deliberate consideration, desiring the benefit of our subjects, and also to give our princely furtherance to the said Sir Walter Raleigh, and his friends, as well as to encourage others in the like laudable enterprizes, advance the conversion of savages, and increase traffic, by our

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(h) Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 85, 86, 87.—Camden's Annals of King James, A. D. 1615—1617.

subjects of this kingdom, have, of our especial grace, &c. granted to Sir Walter Raleigh, full power to carry, for the said voyage, so many of our subjects, or others, who will become our subjects, as shall, willingly, accompany him; with sufficient shipping, armour, weapons, ordnance, munition, powder, shot, &c. and all other things as he shall think necessary for the use, and defence of him, and his company; besides liberty to exchange, or otherwise dispose of his goods, or merchandize; also to return into this, or other of our dominions, with such gold, silver, bullion, or any other wares, and they to be converted to the proper use of the said Sir Walter Raleigh, and his company; paying to us, our heirs, &c. the full fifth part of all such gold, and silver, bullion, and ore of gold, and silver, pearl, and precious stones, as shall be so imported: with all such customs, &c. as shall be due for any other goods whatsoever. Furthermore, to encourage Sir Walter Raleigh, and the adventurers, we promise, in verbo Regio, that no gold, silver, or other wares, by them imported from those parts, so possessed, and inhabited, shall be seized by us, our heirs, or any of our officers, but that it shall remain (the fifth part of the said gold, silver, bullion, &c. as before, with all other customs, and duties being truly paid,) to the sole use of Sir Walter Raleigh, and his company. Further, of our most special grace, &c. we constitute the said Sir Walter Raleigh to be the sole governour, and commander of all persons who shall travel, or be with him, in the said voyage, or in their return. And we give him full power to correct, punish, pardon, and rule them, according to such orders, and instructions as the said Sir Walter Raleigh shall establish, as well in cases capital, and criminal, as civil, both marine, and other; so that the said proceedings,

ings, as near as conveniently may be, are agreeable to the laws of this realm, and to the Christian faith, as now professed in the church of England. And because in such enterprizes, great inconveniencies have grown, by mutinies, and disorders, for want of sufficient authority, we give full power to Sir Walter Raleigh, in case of rebellion, or mutiny, by sea, or land, to exercise martial law, upon just, and apparent necessity, in as ample a manner, as our lieutenant-general, by sea, or land, or our lieutenants in the counties of England. And we give to Sir Walter Raleigh full power to appoint such captains, and other commanders, and ministers under him, as shall be requisite for the better ordering, and governing his company. We further command the wardens of the Cinque-Ports, customers, and other officers, quietly to permit Sir Walter Raleigh, and all who shall adventure with him, to pass to the said south, or other parts of America, possessed, and inhabited as aforesaid; and to return with any goods whatsoever, and to sell, or otherwise dispose of the same to the only use of him, and his company; paying the fifth part of all gold, silver, bullion, &c. as before imported, and other customs, and duties aforesaid. And these presents shall be to the said wardens, &c. sufficient warrant. And we grant to the said Sir Walter Raleigh, that these our letters-patent, or the inrollment thereof, with all the grants, clauses, &c. therein, shall be sufficient, and effectual in law, any law, statute, &c. notwithstanding. Witness ourselves, the twenty-sixth day of August, in the fourteenth year of our reign of England, France, and Ireland; and of Scotland, the fiftieth. "Per breve de privato Sigillo (i)."

(i) Rymer's *Fœdera*, V. 16. Folio. p. 789 — King James's declaration of the demeanour, and carriage of Sir Walter

A naval writer (*k*), after having remarked that, probably, the commission passed the two seals; and that such a conjecture appears warranted from expressions in a letter (*l*), dictated by Sir Walter Raleigh, adds that the commission was, notwithstanding legal; and that although the formal declarations of grace, and trust (*m*) are omitted, yet the powers granted to this illustrious adventurer are in themselves of great extent, and as strongly drawn as language can express; so that Sir Walter Raleigh had all imaginable reason to conceive that this patent implied a pardon. Mr. Campbell observes that, by one clause, he is constituted general, and commander in chief, during the enterprise; and that, in another clause, he is appointed, with the most ample authority, governor of the new country, wherein it was his determination to introduce a settlement. He subjoins that by a third clause, Raleigh enjoyed a power which, in the present age, is seldom delegated to our admirals; the power of exercising martial law, in such a manner as the king's lieutenant-general, by sea, or land, or any of the lieutenants of the counties of England possessed the privileges of using it. He then asks whether it be possible to conceive that, on the appearance of this commission, Sir Walter Raleigh was regarded as a condemned man, or that the lords of the privy-council,

or

Walter Raleigh, knight; as well in his voyage, as thence his return, &c. Quarto. 1618. p. 9—24.

(*k*) Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 88.

(*l*) "His majesty doth assure all Sir Walter's partners, by the Great Seal of England, that they shall truly, and quietly enjoy, &c. &c. out of which Great Seal of England, the discoverer shall have, &c. &c.—Letter dictated by Raleigh, and addressed from Peter Vanlore, to Sir Adrian Thibaut, MS. Lately in the possession of Brown Willis, Esquire, of Whaddon Hall, Bucks.

(*m*) In the usual words, our trusty, and well-beloved.

or the lord privy-seal, could think it equitable for the king to grant such full power over the lives of others, to one who held but a precarious title to his own life? It is for these reasons, that the historian supposes that when Sir Walter Raleigh consulted Sir Francis Bacon, whether it would not be adviseable to purchase, with a large sum of money, his pardon, in the common form, the latter answered, like an honest man, and a sound lawyer: "Sir! the knee-timber of your voyage is money. Spare your purse, in this particular; for upon my life, you have a sufficient pardon for all that is passed already; the king, having, under his broad-seal, made you admiral of your fleet, and given you power of the martial law, over your officers, and soldiers (n)." The character of Bacon, still reeking with ingratitude, should have inclined Raleigh to suspect the sincerity of this reply. It was natural to suppose that the voluntary traitor to the earl of Essex might be less scrupulous in deceiving one who had not, like that unhappy lord, advanced his fortunes, and tried to bind him to his service with the links of uncorrupted friendship (o). We allow that it is a maxim of the civil law that he that hath power over the lives of others, should be the master of his own life. Yet, in the case of Raleigh, and, by an expression in the commission, this principle is opposed; and that devoted victim stands recorded

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(n) Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 89.—
Howel's Letters. V. 2. p. 371.

(o) Bacon, although not bound by his office to plead, at the trial of Essex, his warmest admirer, and his most liberal protector, seduced by the mean, and, perhaps, falsely-grounded hope of becoming acceptable to Elizabeth, exerted all his eloquence for the infernal purpose of bereaving that rash, and misguided nobleman of his life.

as "being under peril of the law." The professional abilities of Bacon are unexceptionable; and we should estimate them at too vile a rate, by an inference that he did not consider this passage, as declaratory of the predicament in which Raleigh was so clearly placed; a man condemned, and unpardoned. With due deference to the judgment of the historian (*p*), we must remark that he commends an honesty which doth not appear to have existed (*q*).

When this subject shall have been submitted at large, and in its different points of view, to the attention of the reader, he will be enabled the more clearly to form a judgment. On us, the sentiments of a late elegant, and discerning writer (*r*) make a strong impression; and we must concur with his opinion that Raleigh, whose sufferings, during a severe imprisonment, had reconciled him to the people, judged it politic, in order to increase these favourable dispositions, on which he built the hopes of recovering his liberty, to circulate a report that he had found, within the empire of Guiana, a golden mine, which, according to his representation, was sufficient not only to enrich all the adventurers, but to introduce immense treasures within the kingdom. It hath been asserted

(*p*) Mr. Campbell.

(*q*) It may reasonably be asked whether the sentence in the commission "whereas divers other gentlemen, his kinsmen, and friends, with several captains, and commanders are also desirous to follow, and venture their lives with him, if they might be commanded by none, but himself," doth not imply that the full power was given to Sir Walter Raleigh, chiefly on their account; and render it somewhat probable that if they had not made this condition, he would not have been appointed the chief leader in the enterprise?

(*r*) Mr. Hume.—History of England, V. 6. p. 93.

asserted (*s*) that James gave little credit to these mighty promises; both because he believed that no such mine as the one described was any where in nature, and because he considered Raleigh a man of desperate fortunes, whose business it was, by any means, to procure his freedom, and to reinstate himself in credit, and authority. The freedom which he obtained was grounded on the too dilatory, but humane idea that his punishment had been rigorous to an extreme; and the permission that he should engage in this romantic enterprize, appears less the consequence of an inclination to oblige Raleigh, than of a compliance with the wishes of a multitude of adventurers, who expressed an eagerness to depart immediately for Guiana, provided that they might be allowed to serve under him as their sole commander (*t*). It must be observed that, in spite of the most pressing solicitations, the king persisted in his refusal to grant that pardon which appeared necessary for the man, who, by explicit terms in his commission, was intrusted with the full power of passing sentence of death, in all capital cases whatsoever, on those of his associates who, after a fair trial, might be discovered to have transgressed the law. But the king affirmed that he could not yet confide in Raleigh, and, therefore, lest he should wander from the declared rectitude of his intentions, was determined to maintain in force, and hold out, as a salutary terror, the judgment which had been given against him (*u*).

Raleigh, convinced that James was exceedingly averse from the commission of hostilities, by his subjects, against

(*s*) Idem.—Ibid.

(*t*) See the preceding note *q*; and also Hume's history of England, V. 6. p. 94.

(*u*) Hume's History of England, V. 6. p. 94.

against the Spaniards, in any quarter of the globe, assured that monarch, in the strongest terms, that they had not established a settlement near the part of the coast which was contiguous to the mine. When Gondomar, surprized at the appearance of a formidable armament, expressed his apprehensions that some blow was meditated against the territories of the king of Spain, his master, Sir Walter still declared that attacks of this nature were, of all others, the most distant from his intentions; and James threatened to take the forfeiture of his life, if he should dare, by any act of violence, to interrupt the peace which then subsisted between the courts of London, and of Madrid. The ambassador, who yet suspected that the operations of the fleet, and troops, were to be turned against some distant colony, belonging to his sovereign, sent advice to Philip, of his impending danger; and, in consequence of this alarm, all the Spanish settlements, but more especially those situated along the coast of Guiana, were powerfully fortified, and directed to prepare for action.

The entertaining, and instructive writer (x), of whose researches we have availed ourselves, in the preceding passage, hath pertinently remarked that when the courage, and avarice of the Spaniards, and Portuguese had discovered so many new worlds, they were resolved to shew themselves superior to the barbarous Heathens whom they invaded, not only in arts, and arms, but also in the justice of the quarrel. They applied to Alexander, the sixth, who then filled the papal chair; and he generously bestowed on the Spaniards, the whole western, and, on the Portuguese, the whole eastern part of the globe. He adds (with equal shrewdness,) that the more scrupulous protestants who acknowledged

(x) Mr. Hume.

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knowledged not the authority of the Roman pontiff, established the first discovery as the foundation of their title; and, if a pirate, or sea-adventurer of their nation had but erected a stick, or stone, on the coast, as a memorial of his taking possession, they concluded the whole continent to belong to them, and thought themselves intitled to expel, or exterminate, as usurpers, the ancient possessors, or inhabitants. He concludes that it was in this manner that Sir Walter Raleigh, about twenty-three years before, had acquired for the crown of England, a claim to the continent of Guiana, a region as large as the half of Europe; and although he had immediately left the coast, yet he pretended that the English title to the whole remained certain, and indefeasible. But it happened, in the mean time, that the Spaniards, either not knowing, or not acknowledging this imaginary claim, had taken possession of a part of Guiana, had formed a settlement on the river Oronoko, had built a little town, called Saint Thomas, and were there working some mines of small value.

The fleet, equipped, for the expedition to the mine, at the joint expence of Raleigh (y), and his friends, consisted of the *Destiny*, which was built under his own direction. This ship mounted thirty-six pieces of cannon, and was of the burthen of four hundred, and forty tons. On board, were Sir Walter Raleigh, with the rank of general, and, under him, as captain, his son, exclusive of two hundred persons (z), whereof eighty were gentlemen volunteers, and adventurers, the

(y) In support of this enterprize, he had embarked his whole fortune; to which were added the profits arising from the sale of an estate, (at Mitcham,) until then, belonging to lady Raleigh, who resigned it to her husband.

(z) This number was afterwards increased,

the majority of whom stood in the same table of kindred, with Sir Walter. To the *Destiny* was added, first, the *Jafon*, equipped in the port of London, commanded by John Pennington, with the rank of vice-admiral, having on board eighty men, and one gentleman. This vessel carried twenty-five pieces of ordnance, and was of the burthen of two hundred, and forty tons; secondly, the *Encounter*, (commanded by Edward Hastings,) mounting seventeen guns, and being of the burthen of one hundred, and sixty tons. It must be in this place, observed that the captain died, on his arrival at the Indies, and was succeeded by an officer, whose name was Whitney. Thirdly, the *Thunder*, of the burthen of one hundred, and fifty tons, and commanded by Sir Warham Saintleger, with whom were six gentlemen, sixty soldiers, and ten landmen; fourthly, the *Flying-Joan*, of the burthen of one hundred, and twenty tons, carrying fourteen pieces of ordnance, and having on board twenty-five men, over whom the captain was John Chidley; fifthly, the *Southampton*, of the burthen of eighty tons, having six pieces of cannon, and being commanded by John Bailey, whose crew amounted to thirty-five mariners, exclusive of two gentlemen; sixthly, the *Page*, a pinnace, of the burthen of twenty-five tons, having on board eight sailors, who were commanded by captain James Barker. Previous to his departure from the coast of England, Sir Walter Raleigh was joined by other ships, in consequence of which reinforcement, his whole fleet amounted to fourteen sail. Amongst these, were the *Convertine*, commanded by captain Keymis; the *Confidence*, under the charge of captain Woolaston; the *Flying-Hart*, a shallop, commanded by Sir John Ferne; two fly-boats, under the captains, Samuel

muel King, and Robert Smith ; and two caravels, one of which was named the Chudley (*a*).

With a part of this fleet, Sir Walter Raleigh sailed from the Thames, on the twenty-eighth of March, in the year, one thousand, six hundred, and seventeen ; but was afterwards detained, by various accidents, at Plymouth, until the month of July, when he renewed his course, and was next compelled, by the severity of the weather, to take refuge within the port of Corke. In the morning of the nineteenth of August, he proceeded on his voyage, and, touching at the Canaries (*b*), obtained a supply of necessary provisions. From hence he sailed towards Guiana, and arrived there at the commencement of November. He was received with every mark of satisfaction by the Indians, who not only rendered him all the service which could have been expected from them, but endeavouring to persuade him to end his labours, (by fixing his residence within the country), and to assume the reins of government ; a measure which he had the prudence to decline. Prevented by extreme sickness from undertaking the discovery of the mine, in person, he was reduced to the necessity of intrusting that service to captain Keymis. For this purpose, he, on the fourth of December, directed that five small ships should sail into the river Oronooko, having on board two hundred, and fifty men, divided into equal companies, of which the first was commanded by captain Parker, the second, by captain North, the third, by Mr. Raleigh, the fourth by captain Prideaux, and the fifth by captain Chidley (*c*).
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(*a*) Oldys's Life of Sir Walter Raleigh, folio.—Sir Walter Raleigh's Apology, 8vo. 1650. p. 22, 26, 24.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 90.

(*b*) September 6th.

(*c*) Raleigh's Apology, p. 26.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 91.

Keymis, who was appointed to conduct them, intended to have advanced towards the mine, with a guard, consisting only of seven persons; but Sir Walter dissuaded him from his purpose, in a letter, of which the following is a copy.

“ Keymis! Whereas you were resolved, after your
 “ arrival into the Oronoque, to pass to the mine, with
 “ my cousin Herbert, and six musketeers, and, to
 “ that end, have desired to have Sir John Ferne’s shal-
 “ lop, I do not allow of that course; because that you
 “ cannot land so secretly, but that some Indians, on
 “ the river-side, may discover you, who, giving
 “ knowledge thereof to the Spaniards, you may be
 “ cut off, before that you can recover your boat. I
 “ therefore, advise you to suffer the captains, and
 “ companies of the English to pass up Westward to the
 “ mountain Aio, from whence you have no less than
 “ three miles to the mine, and to encamp between
 “ the Spanish town, and you, if there be any town
 “ near it, that being so secured, you may make
 “ trial what depth, and breadth the mine holds,
 “ and whether, or no, it will answer our hopes. ‘ And
 “ if you find it royal, and the Spaniards begin to war
 “ upon you, then let the serjeant-major repel them,
 “ if it be in his power and drive them as far as he
 “ can;’ but, if you find that the mine is not so rich as
 “ to persuade the holding of it, and it requires a second
 “ supply, ‘ then shall you bring a Basket, or two,
 “ to satisfy his majesty that my design was not ima-
 “ ginary, but true, although not answerable to his
 “ majesty’s expectations, for the quantity of which
 “ I never gave assurance, nor could. On the other
 “ side, if you shall find that any great number of
 “ soldiers are newly sent into the Oronoque, (as the
 “ Cassique of Caliana) told us there were, and that the

“ passages

" passages are already enforced, so as without a mani-
 " fest peril of my son, yourself, and the other captains,
 " you cannot pass towards the mine ; then be well ad-
 " vised how you land ; for I know (a few gentlemen
 " excepted,) what a scum of men you have ; and I
 " would not for all the world receive a blow from the
 " Spaniards, to the dishonour of the nation. I myself,
 " for my weakness, cannot be present ; neither will the
 " company land, except that I abide by the ships, the
 " galleons of Spain being daily expected. Piggot, the ser-
 " jeant-major is dead. Sir Warham Saintleger, my lieu-
 " tenant, is without hopes of life ; and my nephew,
 " George Raleigh, your serjeant-major, is now but a
 " young man. It is therefore on your judgment that I
 " rely, when I trust, God will direct me for the best.
 " Let me hear from you as soon as you can. You shall
 " find me at Punta de Gallo, dead, or alive ; and, if
 " you find not my ships there, yet there you shall find
 " their ashes ; for I will fire with the galleons, if it
 " come to extremity ; but run away, I shall never."

In obedience to this order, Keymis landed, during
 the night time, with his men, at a place rather
 nearer to the mine than the spot which he had fixed
 upon at first. The Spaniards, who had received in-
 telligence of their designs, began the attack by a ge-
 neral discharge of artillery, and small arms. The
 English returned the fire, and, at once repelled and
 pursued their assailants into the town of Saint Thomas,
 which they began to plunder. Raleigh (the son of Sir
 Walter,) to increase the ardour of his followers, ex-
 claimed, " This is the true mine, and none but fools
 look for any other." Having uttered these words, he
 advanced gallantly upon the Spaniards, killed one of
 their captains, and was, almost in the same moment,
 severely wounded by another. As, bearing his sword,

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within

within his hand, he yet pressed forward, Erinetta, an officer in the service of the enemy, felled him to the ground, by a stroke with a musket, and he expired on the spot, after having, in feeble accents, pronounced a prayer for the forgiveness of his sins, and the prosperity of the enterprize (*). Not intimidated by this unfortunate event, Keymis, at the head of his associates, continued the attack, took possession of the town, and, having secured those few articles of value which were within it, reduced the buildings, together with the forts, intirely to ashes. He next proceeded up the river, with his vessels, but unable to discover a sufficient depth of water, could not approach within a mile of any part of the shore, which was contiguous to the mine. Volleys of musket-shot were fired from the coverts in the neighbouring woods, by the Spanish troops, at the boats belonging to the English, who were thus frustrated in their last, but ineffectual attempt, to disembark. It hath been observed (e) that Raleigh did not pretend that he had himself seen the mine, which he had engaged so many people to go in quest of; but declared that it was Keymis who had formerly discovered it, and had brought him that lump of ore which promised such immense treasures. Yet Keymis, who confessed that he was within two hours march of the place, did not proceed towards it, absurdly pleading in his vindication, that the road which led to it could not be passed, but with the utmost difficulty; and that, on the supposition of his having discovered it, he must still have been at a loss for men to work it (f).

When

(*) Considering the injustice of the enterprize this prayer for the pardon, and the continuance of crimes, is something worse than ridiculous.

(e) Hume's History of England. V. 6. p. 96.

(f) Raleigh, in a letter, addressed to his wife, and printed in his remains (p. 178.) observes that the Spaniards had

When Keymis, at his return, delivered to Sir Walter, the melancholy tidings of the death of young Raleigh, and the miscarriage of the enterprize, he censured him with all that bitterness of language, which was at once expressive of the anguish of a mind, distracted by vexation, and despair. He represented him as the instrument of his inevitable ruin, and declared that his proceedings, flagitious to an extreme, had wounded, beyond every hope of recovery, his credit with the king. Severely stung by these merited reproaches, and, perhaps, dreading the punishment of his misconduct, Keymis retired in the agonies of despair, unnoticed to his cabin, from whence the crew, soon afterwards, heard the report of a discharged pistol. A boy was immediately sent by Raleigh to demand the occasion of this incident, and Keymis answered that he had fired merely for the purpose of unloading, and adding a cleaner charge. When about two hours had elapsed, his servant entered, and perceived the dead body of his master, weltering in blood. From a farther examination, it appeared that he had, at first, endeavoured effectually to shoot himself, but the bullet, which was small, had, in its direction, only cracked a rib. Resolved that the next wound should be mortal in its nature, he thrust a knife into his heart (g).

It is, here, proper that, without deviating from the impartiality, so necessary in historical discussions, we should observe that several of the contemporaries of Raleigh insinuated that the suicide, which had been committed by Keymis, was in consequence of the agi-

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had several gold, and silver mines near the town, which were useless for want of negroes.

(g) Raleigh's Apology, p. 39.—Howell's Letters.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 94.

tations of a guilty mind, rendered insupportable by the reflection that having persisted in advancing the most abominable falsities, with regard to the discovery of the treasures in Guiana, he had imposed on the credulity, and fatally diminished, whilst he should have encreased the fortunes of his associates. From this suggestion, Sir Walter hath dissented, and, ascribing the death of Keymis, intirely to his own positive, and ungovernable temper, remarked that "He would not have laid violent hands upon himself for the opinion of any man; nor, when he did, could he have said that he was ignorant of the place, and knew of no such mine; for what cause had I (Raleigh,) then to have rejected his excuses, or to have laid his obstinacy to his charge. Several captains might be put to their oaths, whether, or no, Keymis did not confess to them, coming down the river, at a place where they cast anchor, that he could, from thence, have gone to the mine, in two hours (h)."

We now enter on the relation of those incidents which were preceded by the death of Keymis. The majority of the adventurers exclaimed that they had been duped by the artifices of Sir Walter; they declared, in pointed terms, that they could not imagine that he himself, notwithstanding his assertions, had ever given credit to the existence of a mine; they openly expressed their opinion, that he had resolved, during the earliest preparations for the voyage, to direct his whole force against the Spanish settlements at Saint Thomas; and that from thence, if the martial ardour of his associates had been excited by success, and the plunder which attends it, he would have proceeded to the

(h) Raleigh's Apology, p. 40.—Oldys's Life of Sir Walter Raleigh. Folio. p. 107, 108.

the attack of every town upon the continent of Guiana. They, now, supposed that, rendered desperate by reflections on the punishment which might await him, should he return to England, without a sum sufficient for the purchase of his pardon, he would engage in enterprizes, at once daring, and unjustifiable; and that if, at length, the produce of his depredations should prove inadequate to the completion of his views within his own country, he might retreat to foreign climes, and secure a shelter from the resentment of his sovereign. It hath been remarked that the associates of Raleigh, already disappointed in the hopes of gratifying their avarice, during the sackage of Saint Thomas, a town in which no articles of value could be discovered, had lost the inclination to pursue hostilities, where even victory must be fruitless. They were not ignorant that many circumstances existed in the treaty, and late transactions between the two nations, which might invite them to engage in such a piratical war against the Spaniards (i),

K 3

but

(i) Mr. Hume observes that when England made peace with Spain, the example of Henry the fourth, was imitated, who, at the treaty of Vervins, finding a difficulty in adjusting all questions, with regard to the Indian trade, had agreed to pass over that article in total silence. The Spaniards having, all along, published severe edicts against the intercourse of any European nation with their colonies, interpreted this silence, in their own favour, and considered it as a tacit acquiescence of England in the established laws of Spain. The English, on the contrary, pretended that as they had never been excluded, by any treaty, from commerce with any part of the king of Spain's dominions, it was still as lawful for them to trade with his settlements, in either Indies, as with his European territories. In consequence of this ambiguity, many adventurers from England sailed to the Spanish Indies, and met with severe punishment, when caught; as they, on the other hand, often stole, and, when superior in power, forced a trade with

but they deemed it safer to return to England, when they reflected that howsoever their martial proceedings might have been connived at, had they co-operated with a fleet acting under the royal commission, yet as private adventurers, they were amenable to punishment. To sail homewards was the general determination; and Raleigh, more like a prisoner, than a commander in chief, arrived with his leaky vessels, first at King'sale, in Ireland, and next at Plymouth (A).

Scarcely had he reached the former place, when a proclamation was issued, declaring, in severe terms, that the King had felt the highest displeasure at his conduct, and requiring all such as were acquainted with any particulars relative either to his intention, or his practices, to attend, and deliver their information, before the council (1). At the commencement of the month of July, Sir Walter Raleigh landed at Plymouth, and, hearing of the proclamation, determined to surrender. A consideration of the precarious state of health under which he had, for some time languished, induced him to draw up in writing, an apology that he despaired of being able to present in person. As it is our anxious wish (notwithstanding that we may be influenced by arguments which appear to frustrate an attempt to exculpate this celebrated adventurer) to bring forward every reason, that can be urged in his defence, we think it necessary to introduce

with the inhabitants, and resisted, nay, sometimes plundered the Spanish governors. Violences of this nature, which had been carried to a great height on both sides, it was agreed to bury in total oblivion, because of the difficulty which was found in remedying them upon any fixed principles.

(A) Raleigh's Apology; and king James's declarations. Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 94.

(1) Rymer's Fœdera, V. 17. p. 92.

duce an important quotation from his own remarks (*m*).

"Because I know not whether I shall live to come before the lords, I have, for his majesty's satisfaction, here set down as much as I can say, either for my own defence, or against myself, as things are now (constructed.)"

("It is true that although I acquainted his majesty with my intent to land in Guiana, yet I never made it known) to his majesty that the Spaniards had (any footing there;) neither had I any authority, but my patent, to remove them (from thence) —And therefore, his majesty had no interest in the attempt of Saint Thomas, (by any fore-)knowledge thereof, in his majesty."

"But, knowing his majesty's title to the country, to be the best, and most Christian, (because) the natural lords did most willingly acknowledge queen Elizabeth to be their sovereign, (who by) me, promised to defend them from the Spanish cruelty, I made no doubt that (I might) enter the said land, by force, seeing that the Spaniards had no other title, but force, the pope's donation excepted; and considering also that they got a possession there, divers years since my possession taken for the crown of England. For, were not Guiana his majesty's, then might I as well have been questioned for a thief, for taking of gold out of the king of Spain's mines, as the Spaniards do now call me a peace-breaker. For, from any territory confessed to be the king of

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"Spain's,

(*m*) Sir Walter Raleigh's Apology, MS. in Bibl. Cotton. Vite. 117. ult. The passages inclosed within Parentheses were defaced in the manuscript, and are restored from a printed copy.

" that they shall put to death all those Spaniards, and
 " Indians that trade con los Engleses Enimigos, with
 " English enemies. Yea, those very Spaniards which
 " we encountered at Saint Thomas's, did, of late years,
 " murder six and thirty of Mr. Hall's men, of London,
 " and mine, who landed without weapons, upon the
 " Spanish faith, to trade with them. Mr. Thorn, also,
 " of Tower-street, in London, besides many other
 " English, were, in that sort, murdered, the year be-
 " fore my delivery out of the tower.—(Now, if this kind
 " of trade be peaceable, there is then a peaceable
 " trade in the Indies, between us, and the Spaniards;
 " but, if this be cruel war, and hatred, and no peace,
 " then there is no peace broken by our attempt.
 " Again, how doth it stand with the greatness of the
 " king of Spain, first to call us enemies, when he did
 " hope to cut us in pieces; and then, having failed, to
 " call us peace-breakers;) for to be (an enemy, and
 " peace-breaker in one, and the same) action is im-
 " possible. But the king of Spain, in his letter to the
 " governour of Guiana dated at Madrid, the nine, and
 " twentieth of March, before we left the Thames, called
 " us Engleses Enemigos, (English enemies.)"

" Had it pleased the king of Spain to have written
 " to his majesty, in seventeen months time (n), for we
 " were so long in preparing, and have made his majes-
 " ty know that our landing in Guiana would draw af-
 " ter it a breach of peace, I presume to think his ma-
 " jesty would have stayed our enterprize, for the pre-
 " sent. This he might have done, with less charges
 " than to levy three hundred soldiers, and to transport
 " ten pieces of ordnance, from Puerto Ricco, which
 " soldiers, added to the garrison of Saint Thomas, had
 " they arrived before our coming, had overthrown all
 " our

(n) In the printed copy, mention is only made of seven months.

“ our raw companies. And there would have followed
 “ no complaint.”

“ For the main point of landing near Saint Thomas,
 “ it is true that we were of opinion that we must have
 “ driven the Spaniards out of their town, before we
 “ could pass the thick woods, upon the mountain of
 “ the mine, which, I confess, I did first resolve upon ;
 “ but better bethinking myself, I reserved the taking
 “ of the town to the goodness of the mine, which if
 “ they found to be so rich as it might persuade the
 “ leaving of a garrison there, then to drive the Spani-
 “ ards thence ; but to have it burnt, was never my in-
 “ tent, neither could they give me any reason why
 “ they did it.”

“ Upon the return, I examined the serjeant-major,
 “ and Keymis, why they followed not my last direc-
 “ tions for the trial of the mine, before the taking of
 “ the town. And they answered me that although
 “ they durst hardly go to the mine, leaving a garri-
 “ son of Spaniards, between them, and their boats, yet
 “ they said they followed those latter directions (a), and
 “ did land between the town, and the mine ; and that
 “ the Spaniards, without any manner of parley, set
 “ upon them, unawares, and charged them, calling
 “ them Peros Engleses, (or English Dogs,) and, by skir-
 “ mishing with them, drew them on to the very en-
 “ trance of the town, before they knew where they
 “ were, so as if any peace had been in those parts, the
 “ Spaniards first broke the peace, and made the first
 “ slaughter ; for, as the English could not but land to
 “ seek the mine, being come thither to that end, so
 “ being first reviled, and charged by the Spaniards,
 “ they could do no less than repel force, by force.”

“ Lastly,

(a) In the printed letter, the words are “ yet they of-
 “ fended those latter directions.”

“ Lastly, it is a matter of no small consequence, to
 “ acknowledge we have offended the king of Spain, by
 “ landing in Guiana.”

“ For, first, it weakens his majesty’s title to the
 “ country, or quits it.”

“ Secondly, there is no king that hath given the
 “ least way to any other king, or state, in the traffic
 “ of the lives, and goods of his subjects, to wit, as
 “ in our case, that it shall be lawful for the Spaniards
 “ to murder us, either by force, or reason, and not
 “ be lawful for us to defend ourselves, and pay them
 “ with their own coin; for this superiority, and infe-
 “ riority, is a thing which no absolute monarch ever
 “ yielded to, or ever will.”

“ Thirdly, it shews the English bear greater respect
 “ to the Spaniard, and are more doubtful of his forces,
 “ than either the French, or Dutch are, who daily in-
 “ vade all parts of the Indies, without being questioned
 “ at their—Return, yea, at (my own being) at Ply-
 “ mouth, a treacherous gentleman, called Flory, went
 “ thence with four sail, (and three hundred landmen,)
 “ with commission to land, burn, and to sack all
 “ places in the Indies, (that he could) master, and yet
 “ hath the French king married a daughter of Spain.”

“ This is all that I can say, other than that I have
 “ spent my poor estate, lost (my son,) and my health,
 “ and endured as many sorts of miseries, as ever man
 “ did, in (hope to) do his majesty (acceptable) ser-
 “ vice, and have not, to my understanding, commit-
 “ ted any hostile act, other than the entrance upon a
 “ territory belonging (rightly) to the crown of Eng-
 “ land, where the English were first set upon, and slain
 “ by the usurping Spaniards. (I invaded no other
 “ parts of the Indies, pretended to by the Spaniards).”

“ I returned into England, with the manifest peril of
 “ my life; with a purpose not to hold my life by
 “ any

“ any other act, than his majesty’s grace, and from
 “ which no man, nor any peril could dissuade me. To
 “ that grace, goodness, and kingliness, I refer myself,
 “ which if it shall find that I have not yet suffered
 “ enough, it may, if it please, add more afflictions to
 “ the remainder of a wretched life.”

As it is closely connected with the preceding vindication, we shall submit to the notice of the reader, the following copy of a letter, which was written by Sir Walter Raleigh, and conveyed to the king, previous to the departure of count Gondomar, the Spanish ambassador, from the court of London.

“ May it please your most excellent majesty ! If,
 “ in my journey outward-bound, I had my men murdered at the islands, and yet spared to take revenge ;
 “ if I did discharge some Spanish barks taken, without
 “ spoil ; if I did forbear all parts of the Spanish Indies,
 “ wherein I might have taken twenty of their towns,
 “ on the sea-coasts, and did only follow the enterprise I undertook for Guiana, where, without any
 “ directions from me, a Spanish village was burnt,
 “ which was new set up within three miles of the
 “ mine ; by your majesty’s favour, I find no reason
 “ why the Spanish ambassador should complain of me.”

“ If it were lawful for the Spaniards to murder
 “ twenty-six Englishmen, tying them back to back,
 “ and then cutting their throats, when they had traded
 “ with them a whole month, and came to them on the
 “ land, without so much as one sword ; and it may
 “ not be lawful for your majesty’s subjects, being
 “ charged first by them, to repel force, by force, we
 “ may justly say, O miserable English !

“ If Parker, and Meacham took Campeachy, and
 “ other places, in the Honduras, seated in the heart of
 “ the Spanish-Indies ; burned towns, and killed the
 “ Spaniards, and had nothing said unto them, at their

“ re-

“ return ; and myself, who forbore to look into the
 “ Indies, because I would not offend, must be accused,
 “ I may as justly say, O miserable Raleigh !”

“ If I have spent my poor estate, lost my son, suf-
 “ fered by sickness, and otherwise, a world of hard-
 “ ships ; if I have resisted, with manifest hazard of my
 “ life, the robberies, and spoils with which my
 “ companions would have made me rich ; if, when I
 “ was poor, I could have made myself rich ; if, when I
 “ could have gotten my liberty, which all men, and
 “ nature itself do so much prize, I voluntarily lost it ;
 “ if, when I was sure of my life, I rendered it again ;
 “ if I might elsewhere have sold my ship, and goods,
 “ and put five, or six thousand pounds in my purse ;
 “ and yet brought her into England ; I beseech your
 “ majesty to believe that all this I have done, because
 “ it should not be said that your majesty had given li-
 “ berty, and trust to a man, whose end was but the
 “ recovery of his liberty, and who had betrayed your
 “ majesty’s trust.”

“ My mutineers told me that if I returned for Eng-
 “ land, I should be undone ; but I believed in your
 “ majesty’s goodness, more than in all their argu-
 “ ments. Sure, I am the first that being free, and able
 “ to enrich myself, yet hath embraced poverty, and
 “ peril ; and as sure I am that my example shall make
 “ me the last. But your majesty’s wisdom, and good-
 “ ness, I have made my judges, who have ever been,
 “ and shall ever be, your majesty’s most humble vaf-
 “ sal, Walter Raleigh (p).”

Whilst this illustrious, but unfortunate adventurer,
 was proceeding on the road to London, his kinsman,
 Sir

(p) See Raleigh’s Remains, from whence this letter which
 hath been compared with manuscript copies, is printed.

Sir Lewis Stucley, the vice-admiral of Devonshire, intercepted him; and, having made mention of a verbal commission from the secretary of state, for the seizure of his person, advised him to return to Plymouth. This abandoned creature of the court, who had pledged himself for the execution of his orders, at first encouraged Raleigh to concert such measures as might facilitate his escape; and, next, betrayed him. It was now insinuated that he had not only determined to withdraw immediately into France, but actually commenced an unjustifiable correspondence with the sovereign of that nation; yet, if we can trust to his professions on the scaffold, his sole design was to have returned to Guiana, for the purpose of effacing, by happier enterprizes, the remembrance of his late miscarriages (*q*). Mr. Campbell (after having premised that, on his second apprehension, he was conducted to the tower, from whence it was already settled that he should never be released, except by death,) adds that it was the earnestness of the Spanish court thrown into action by their instrument, count Gondomar, that gave rise to the unrelenting severity with which James, and the members of his privy council pursued the life of Raleigh. He remarks that a cool, and a strict discussion of this important point, must suggest to us that the violent clamours of the Spaniards afford the strongest proofs in favour of the enterprize undertaken by Sir Walter; since, if the possession

(*q*) Captain Samuel King's Narrative of Sir Walter Raleigh's motives, and opportunities for conveying himself out of the kingdom. With the manner how he was betrayed. MS. two sheets, folio. 1618. p. 2.—Stucley's petition, and information touching his own behaviour in the charge of bringing up Sir Walter Raleigh. 4to. 1618.—Camden's annals of king James. A. D. 1618.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 95.

possession of Guiana had been of little consequence, they must have observed with more indifference the preparations of the English to invade it. He asks why Raleigh, if considered as a projector who sought to repair his broken fortunes, by fraudulently imposing on the credulity of others, was not suffered to remain unnoticed? He subjoins that the more expeditions he made, the more glaring would appear his folly; and the greater advantage must the Spaniards have reaped from that appearance, because it would have discountenanced all succeeding enterprizes of this nature; but, by thus contriving to murder him, they must, in the opinion of every impartial judge, have raised the credit of his project, although, during that period, they might have deterred the generality of adventurers from an attempt to carry it into execution. He concludes by affirming that what the friends of Sir Walter received upon belief, the Spaniards were convinced of; that the former confided in him; but that the latter were as positive as himself; because they knew, by experience, that the empire of Guiana abounded in gold, and that from the moment of its subjection to the crown of England, the Dominion of the Spaniards within the West-Indies must be totally annihilated (r).

When

(r) Mr. Campbell (whose arguments it were illiberal to suppress, as they were written with a view to vindicate the conduct of Sir Walter Raleigh) hath closed the remark with the following note: "This I have great reason to say, having consulted many of the Spanish authors, whilst I was composing the short 'History of Spanish America.' Francis Coreal, one of the best, and latest Spanish travellers, acknowledges the country to be very rich; and, in the map printed with his travels, the place is marked where the lake of Parima, and the city of Manoa are supposed to be; and, in the French translation, printed

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When the privy-council had closed their examination of Raleigh, and his associates, they delivered it as their opinion that those ideas which had been conceived of the criminality of his intentions, were now to be regarded as justly grounded ; that he had deceived his sovereign by plausible, and false descriptions of the nature of his enterprize ; that he had engaged in the commission of the most violent hostilities against the subjects of a power at peace with England ; and that he had plundered, and reduced to ashes a town belonging to the king of Spain. In consequence of his guilt, whether represented as a breach of orders, or an act of piracy, he might have become amenable either to a court-martial, or to a trial at common law ; but it was deemed an established principle that, as he lay under an actual attainder for high-treason, he could not be brought to trial, for any other crime (*s*). It was, therefore, resolved to call him down to judgment, upon his former sentence, and this was accordingly effected, with every circumstance of brutality, and insult. On Wednesday, the twenty-eighth of October, in the year, one thousand, six hundred, and eighteen, he was awakened, during the violence of a fever, dragged from

“ at Amsterdam, in the year, one thousand, seven hundred, and twenty-two, Sir Walter Raleigh’s voyage to Guiana, is added as a necessary supplement. Also, in Sanson’s map, the lake of Parima, and the city of Manoa are both visible ; so that if what is reported of them be fabulous, yet the opinion is not hitherto exploded. In some of De Lisle’s maps, they are mentioned ; for I have consulted several ; and what is more, there are several mines marked in this country, of which the Spaniards are still suspiciously careful.”

(*s*) See the point discussed at large, in Bacon’s letters, published by doctor Birch, p. 131.—Hume’s History of England, V. 6. p. 98.

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from his bed, and conveyed instantly to the court of King's Bench, at Westminster. Here, when the writ of Habeas Corpus had been delivered to the judges, by Sir Walter Apsley, and when the conviction of Raleigh, at Winchester, had been read, Mr. Henry Yelverton, the attorney-general, set forth that "the prisoner having been fifteen years since, convicted of high-treason, and having, then, received the judgment of death, his majesty, of his abundant grace, hath been pleased to shew mercy unto him, until now, that justice calls to him, for execution." "Sir Walter Raleigh continued Yelverton,) "hath been a statesman, and a man who, in regard to his parts, and quality, is to be pitied. He hath been as a star at which the world have gazed; but stars may fall; nay, they must fall, when they trouble the sphere, wherein they abide. It is therefore his majesty's pleasure, now, to call for execution of the former judgment, and I now require order for the same." When Fanshaw, the clerk of the crown, had read the record of the conviction, and of the sentence, the unhappy prisoner was asked what he could advance as a reason why execution should not be awarded against him? He replied that his voice was enfeebled by his late sickness, and that he laboured, during that instant, under the paroxysm of an intermitting fever; a circumstance which must naturally plead for the permission that he might reduce to writing the substance of his vindication. Sir Henry Montague, the lord chief justice, remarked that he spoke audibly enough; and Sir Walter Raleigh then expressed his hopes that the judgment which he had received to die so long since, could not, now, be strained to take away his life; as, in consequence of the royal commission for his late voyage, it was implied to be restored, by the grant of power, de-

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legated to him, in the character of marshal, over the lives of others. He added that he was the more sanguine in his expectations of mercy, because that he had undertaken the enterprize to acquire honour for his sovereign, and to enrich his kingdom with gold, "of the ore whereof" (he observed,) this hand hath "found, and taken in Guiana." He next attempted to explain the measures which gave rise to the miscarriage of his project; but the lord chief justice interrupted him, and declared that whatsoever he spoke relatively to his last expedition was foreign to the purpose; that no clause in his commission, could, at the present crisis, be of the least avail; that treason was not pardoned by implication; and that unless he could advance arguments more intimately connected with the point in question, the court must proceed immediately to give execution. To these remarks, Sir Walter answered, "concerning my judgment, at Winchester, I "presume, most of you, that now hear me, are resolved "how that was obtained; and I know that his majesty "was so resolved, touching that trial, that if he had "not been anew exasperated against me, certain I am, "I might (if I could, by nature,) have lived a thousand, and a thousand years, before he would have "taken the advantage thereof." The lord chief justice now recommended to him the wisdom of submission, and informed him that execution must be granted upon the judgment given, fifteen years before, during all which time, he has been as a man dead in law; but the king, in mercy, spared him; that he might deem it barbarously oppressive, if this measure were pursued in cold blood; but it was otherwise; and fresh offences had excited the justice of the king to revive what the law had formerly cast upon him. "I know," (continued he,) "that you have been valiant,

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SIR WALTER RALEIGH. 163

"liant, and wise; and I doubt not but you retain both
 "these virtues; for, now, you shall have occasion to
 "use them. Your faith hath heretofore been ques-
 "tioned; but I am resolved that you are a good Chris-
 "tian, for, your book, which is an admirable work,
 "doth testify as much. I would give you counsel,
 "but I know that you can apply unto yourself far bet-
 "ter than I am able to give you—Yet, I give you the
 "oil of comfort, although, in respect that I am a
 "minister of the law, mixed with vinegar—sorrow
 "will not avail you, in some kind, for, were you
 "pained, sorrow would not ease you; were you af-
 "flicted, sorrow would not relieve you; were you tor-
 "mented, sorrow would not content you; and yet the
 "sorrow for your sins would be an everlasting com-
 "fort to you—You must act, as that valiant captain
 "did, who, perceiving himself in danger, said, in de-
 "fiance of death, 'Death, thou expectest me; but,
 "maugre thy spite, I expect thee.' Fear not death too
 "much; nor fear death too little; not too much, lest
 "you fail in your hope; nor too little, lest you die pre-
 "sumptuously. And, here, I must conclude my pray-
 "ers to GOD for it, that HE would have mercy on
 "your soul. Execution is granted (t)."

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At

(t) Harleian Manuscripts, 90. C. 7. Folio p. 439.—
 MS. lately in the collection of the deceased Mr. Granger.—
 Proceedings against Sir Walter Raleigh, at Westminster, an-
 nexed to the account (written by Sir Thomas Overbury,) of
 his arraignment at Winchester, 4to, 148. p. 26.—Ol-
 dys's Life of Raleigh, Folio. p. 124, 125. On this melan-
 choly occasion, the remark of Carew Raleigh is too imperti-
 nent to be omitted. "Here, justice was indeed blind!
 "blindly executing one, and the same person, upon one,
 "and the same condemnation, for things contradictory;
 "for Sir Walter Raleigh was condemned for being a friend
 "to

At this alarming juncture, Sir Walter Raleigh earnestly requested that he might not be cut off so suddenly ; and observing that he stood in need of time, to discharge his conscience, and to satisfy his sovereign, and the world. He prayed that he might be heard on the day of his death ; and, at the last, repeated his intreaties, in the following conclusion. " I do most
 " humbly beseech your lordships, that you will grant
 " me some time, before my execution, that I may
 " settle my affairs, and my mind, more than they yet
 " are ; for I have much to do, both for my reputation, conscience, and loyalty ; and I would beseech
 " the favour of pen, ink, and paper, to express myself something thereby ; and to discharge myself of
 " some trust of worldly matters that were put in me ;
 " which leisure, I beseech you think that I crave not
 " for to gain one minute of life ; for now, being old,
 " sickly, in disgrace, and certain to go to it, life is
 " wearisome to me. And I do, lastly, beseech your
 " lordships that, when I come to die, I may have leave
 " to speak freely at my farewell, to satisfy the world
 " only that I was ever loyal to the king, and a true
 " lover of this commonwealth ; for, this I will seal
 " with my blood." Thus, craving their prayers, was he conducted to the Gate-House, adjoining to the Palace-Yard (u).

Through-

" to the Spaniards, and lost his life for being their utter enemy. Thus Kings, when they will do what they please, please not Him they should, God ; and, having made their power subservient to their will, deprive themselves also of that just power, whereby others are subservient to them." *Brief Relation of Sir Walter Raleigh's Troubles*, p. 9.

(u) It is remarkable that James (who, during this disgraceful era in his reign, retreated to a distance from the capital

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SIR WALTER RALEIGH. 165

Throughout the course of this memoir, we have felt an anxious, but unavailing wish to place the character of Sir Walter Raleigh solely in that point of view where it might be contemplated with admiration, and esteem. Whilst we considered him, on some occasions, as an object of our censure, a respectable, and contrary opinion hath been impartially brought forward. To this principle, let us still adhere, and (before we close an inquiry concerning the conduct of an accomplished hero, with a quotation from remarks which violently impeach its rectitude,) insert the arguments of a writer (*) who strenuously endeavoured to transmit his memory unsullied to posterity.

“ That the judgment was illegal, and that Sir Walter Raleigh was really murdered, hath often been said, and (I believe,) seldom doubted; but I think that it hath not been made so plain as it might be; and,

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“ there-

pital) had signed, and sealed the warrant for the execution of Raleigh, previous to the appearance of the latter, at the bar of the King's-bench; yet it was dated, from Westminster, and, on the twenty-eighth of October. In this warrant (directed to Verulam, the chancellor,) mention is made that his gracious majesty, “ dissenting with the manner of “ execution according to his former judgment, and releasing him of the same to be drawn, hanged, and quartered” observes that “ our pleasure is, instead thereof, “ to have the head only of the said Sir Walter Raleigh cut “ off, at, or within our palace of Westminster; and we do “ command the said chancellor hereupon to direct two several writs under the great seal; one to the lieutenant “ of the Tower, or his deputy, for the delivery of Sir Walter Raleigh to the sheriffs of Middlesex, at the said place; “ and the other to the said sheriffs, for the receiving the “ said Sir Walter Raleigh, from the said lieutenant, and “ for executing him there; for which this shall be his warrant, and discharge, against us, our heirs, and successors, “ for ever.” Rymer's *Fœdera*, V. 17. p. 115.

(*) Campbell's *Lives of the Admirals*, V. 2. p. 97, 98.

"therefore, in respect to his good name, I will attempt
 "it, by shewing that the judgment was absolutely ille-
 "gal, and manifestly iniquitous."

"It is a maxim in our law that the king can do no
 "wrong; and most certain it is that no king can
 "do legal wrong; that is to say, can employ the law
 "to unjust purposes. Sir Walter Raleigh, after his
 "conviction, was dead in law; and, therefore, if
 "the commission granted to him, by James, had not
 "the virtue of a pardon, what was it? Did it empower
 "a dead man to act, and not only to act, but to have
 "a power over the lives, and estates of the living;
 "It either conveyed authority, or it did not. If it did
 "convey authority, then Sir Walter was capable of
 "receiving it; that is, he was no longer dead in law,
 "or, in other words, he was pardoned. If it con-
 "veyed no authority, then this was an act of legal
 "wrong. I cannot help the blunder; the absurdi-
 "ty is in the thing, and not in my expression. A
 "commission under the privy seal, (if not under the
 "great seal,) granted by the king, with the advice of
 "the privy council, to a dead man; or, to put it
 "otherwise, a lawful commission given to a man,
 "dead in law, is nonsense not to be endured; and,
 "therefore, to avoid this, we must conceive, as Sir
 "Francis Bacon, and every other lawyer did, that the
 "commission included, or rather conveyed a pardon.
 "Indeed, the same thing may be made out in much
 "fewer words. Grace is not so strong a mark of
 "royal favour, as trust; and therefore, where the
 "latter appears, the law ought, and, indeed, doth pre-
 "sume the former (y). This judgment, therefore, did
 "not

(y) This last argument must be allowed to have great
 weight; yet (with deference to the sentiments of Mr.
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"not only murder Sir Walter Raleigh, but, in this instance, subverted the constitution, and ought to be looked upon, not only as an act of the basest prostitution, but as the most flagrant violation of justice that ever was committed."

From these conclusions, the reasoning of a celebrated historian (z) hath induced us to dissent; and whilst we scorn the thought of aiming one unmerited aspersion against the real character of Raleigh, we openly declare that the decisive passages of the following quotation have, although with some exceptions, confirmed us in ideas which all the sophistry of superior talents will not be able to eradicate. Yet, on so delicate a subject, where the honest fame of a distinguished hero is to be preserved, or ruined, we do not mean to influence the reader. Not for the purpose of misleading, is he presented with a variety of opinions; but, that his judgment may be just.

"1. There seems to be an improbability, that the Spaniards, who knew nothing of Raleigh's pretended
L 4 "mine,

Campbell,) it doth not reach the case of Sir Walter Raleigh, who is expressly mentioned, in the commission, as "being under the peril of the law."—See the 133d page of the fourth volume of this work.

(z) Hume's History of England, 8vo. V. 6. p. 557, 558, 559, 560, 561, Note I.—The arguments of this author are introduced by a remark that some of the facts are taken from the declaration of James, which being published by authority, and when the facts were recent; being extracted from examinations before the privy council, and subscribed by six counsellors, amongst whom was Abbot, archbishop of Canterbury, a prelate, no-wise complaisant to the court, must be allowed to have great weight, or rather to be of undoubted credit. Yet the most material facts are confirmed either by the nature, and reason of the thing, or by the apology, and letters of Sir Walter Raleigh. The vindication of the king is in the Harleyan Miscellany, vol. 3. No. 2.

“ mine, should have built a town in so wide a coast,
“ within three miles of it. The chances are extremely
“ against such a supposition; and it is more natural to
“ think that the view of plundering the town led him
“ thither rather than that of working a mine. 2. No
“ such mine is there found, to this day. 3. Raleigh, in
“ fact, found no mine; and, in fact, he plundered,
“ and burned a Spanish town. Is it not more proba-
“ ble, therefore, that the latter was his intention? how
“ can the secrets of his breast be rendered so visible
“ as to counterpoise certain facts? 4. He confesses, in
“ his letter to lord Carew, that, although he knew it,
“ yet he concealed from the king the settlement of the
“ Spaniards, on the coast. Does not this fact alone
“ render him sufficiently criminal? 5. His commis-
“ sion impowers him only to settle on a coast possessed
“ by savage, and barbarous inhabitants. Was it not
“ the most evident breach of orders to disembark on a
“ coast, possessed by Spaniards? 6. His orders to Key-
“ mis, when he sent him up the river, are contained in
“ his own apology, and, from them, it appears, that
“ he knew (what was unavoidable,) that the Spaniards
“ would resist, and would oppose the English, at their
“ landing, to take possession of the country. His in-
“ tentions, therefore, were hostile from the beginning.
“ 7. Without provocation, and even when at a dis-
“ tance, he gave Keymis orders to dislodge the Spaniards
“ from their own town. Could any enterprize be
“ more hostile? And, considering the Spaniards, as
“ allies to the nation, could any enterprize be more
“ criminal? Was he not the aggressor, even although
“ it should be true that the Spaniards fired upon his
“ men, at their landing. It is said that he killed three,
“ or four hundred of them. Is that so light a matter?
“ 8. In his letter to the king, and in his apology, he
“ grounds

“ grounds his defence on former hostilities exercised
 “ by the Spaniards, against other companies of Eng-
 “ lishmen. These are accounted for by the ambiguity
 “ of the treaty between the nations. And it is plain
 “ that although these might possibly be reasons for the
 “ king to declare war against that nation, they could
 “ never intitle Raleigh to declare war, and, without
 “ any commission, or contrary to his commission,
 “ The chief hurt which the Spaniards could receive
 “ from England was, in the Indies; and they never
 “ would have made peace at all, if hostilities had been
 “ still to be continued on these settlements. By secret
 “ agreement, the English were still allowed to support
 “ the Dutch, even after the treaty of peace. If they
 “ had also been allowed to invade the Spanish settle-
 “ ments, the treaty had been a full peace to England,
 “ while the Spaniards were still exposed to the full ef-
 “ fects of war. 9. If the claim to the property of
 “ that country, as first discoverers, was good, in op-
 “ position to present settlements, as Raleigh pretended,
 “ why was it not laid before the king, with all its cir-
 “ cumstances, and submitted to his judgment? 10.
 “ Raleigh’s force is acknowledged by himself to have
 “ been insufficient to support him in the possession of
 “ Saint Thomas, against the power of which Spain was
 “ master on that coast; yet it was sufficient, as he
 “ owns, to take by surprize, and plunder twenty
 “ towns. It was not, therefore, his design to settle,
 “ but to plunder. By these confessions, which I have
 “ brought together, he plainly betrays himself. 11.
 “ Why did he not stay, and work his mine, as, at first,
 “ he projected? He apprehended that the Spaniards
 “ would be upon him with a great force. But, before
 “ he left England, he knew that this must be the case,
 “ if he invaded any part of the Spanish colonies. His
 “ inten-

"intention, therefore, never was to settle, but only to
 "plunder. 12. He acknowledges that he knew neither
 "the depth, nor riches of the mine, but only that
 "there was some more ore there. Would he have
 "ventured all his fortune, and credit, on so preca-
 "rious a foundation? 13. Would the other adven-
 "turers, if made acquainted with this, have risked
 "every thing to attend him? Ought a fleet to have
 "been equipped for an experiment? Was there not,
 "plainly, an imposture in the management of this af-
 "fair? 14. He says to Keymis, 'Bring but a basket
 "full of ore, and it will satisfy the king that my pro-
 "ject was not imaginary.' This was easily done from
 "the Spanish mines; and he seems to have been actu-
 "ally displeased at Keymis, for not attempting it. Such
 "a view was a premeditated apology to cover his
 "cheat. 15. The king, in his declaration, imputes
 "it to Raleigh that, as soon as he was at sea, he im-
 "mediately fell into such uncertain, and doubtful talk
 "of his mine, and said that it would be sufficient if he
 "brought home a basket full of ore. From the cir-
 "cumstance last mentioned, it appears that this impu-
 "tation was not without reason. 16. There are
 "many other circumstances of great weight in the
 "declaration of the king; that Raleigh, when he fell
 "down to Plymouth, took no pioneers with him, which
 "he always declared to be his intention, that he was
 "no-wise provided with instruments for working a
 "mine, but had a sufficient stock of warlike stores;
 "that young Raleigh, in attacking the Spaniards, em-
 "ployed the words, 'Come on, my hearts! here is
 "the mine that we must expect. They that look for
 "any other mine are fools;' that the mine was
 "moveable, and shifted as he saw convenient: Not to
 "mention many other public facts which prove him
 "to

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“ to have been highly criminal against his companions,
 “ as well as his country. Howel, in his letters, says,
 “ that there lived in London, in the year, one thousand,
 “ six hundred, and forty-five, an officer, a man of
 “ honour, who asserted that he heard young Raleigh
 “ speak these words(a). That was a time when
 “ there was no interest in maintaining such a fact (b).
 “ 17. Raleigh’s account of his first voyage to Guiana
 “ proves him to have been a man capable of the most
 “ extravagant credulity, or the most impudent impos-
 “ ture. So ridiculous are the stories which he tells of
 “ the Inca’s chimerical empire, in the midst of Guiana;
 “ the rich city of El Dorado, or Manao, two days
 “ journey in length, and shining with gold, and sil-
 “ ver; the old Peruvian prophecies in favour of the
 “ English, who, he observes, were expressly named as
 “ the deliverers of that country(c), long before any
 “ Euro-

(a) Vol. 2. Letter 63.

(b) To this remark, by Mr. Hume, it may be added that Howel appears always more ready to applaud, than censure Raleigh, and compares his return from Guiana to that of the Roman consul, Attilius Regulus, who, rather than violate his promise, went back (although convinced that death must be the consequence,) to his enemies, the Carthaginians, by whom he had been taken prisoner. Howel’s Letters, V. 1. p. 6. V. 2. p. 372.

(c) The Europeans, when they set out, as the deliverers of distant countries, commence their friendly offices, by an attack against the persons, and a seizure of the property, and lands of individuals who never saw, nor injured them. The fate of Bengal alone (but, examples are innumerable,) would justify this remark. The Deliverer, therefore, is not that exalted hero who, to secure the freedom of his fellow-creatures, is prepared to shed his own blood, even to the last drop; but the monster who insults mankind with offers of assistance, and (in the true spirit of avarice, one of the worst crimes which can disgrace our nature,) having plundered a confiding people, secures his acquisitions, by a general massacre of the first possessors.

" European had ever touched there ; the Amazons, or
 " republic of women ; and, in general, the vast,
 " and incredible riches, which he saw on the conti-
 " nent, where no one has yet found any treasures.
 " This whole narrative is a proof that he was extreme-
 " ly defective, either in solid understanding, or mo-
 " rals, or both. No man's character indeed seems
 " ever to have been carried to such extremes as Ra-
 " leigh's, by the opposite passions of envy, and pity.
 " In the former part of his life, when he was active,
 " and lived in the world, and was probably, best
 " known, he was the object of universal hatred, and
 " detestation, throughout England ; in the latter part,
 " when shut up in a prison, he became ' much more
 " unreasonably' the object of great love, and admira-
 " tion (d)."

" As to the circumstances of the narrative, that
 " Raleigh's pardon was refused him, that his former
 " sentence

(d) With due deference to the Judgment of Mr. Hume,
 we cannot implicitly confide in his remark. It may surely
 be doubted whether,, at any period of his life, Raleigh was
 " an object of universal hatred, and detestation, throughout
 " England." The violence of his disposition, an over-bear-
 ing pride, and his persecution of Essex, who was idolized
 by the people, had indeed, cast him almost irrecoverably
 from the favour of an exasperated multitude ; yet he was
 followed, beloved, and honoured by numbers of his con-
 temporaries. To assert that he was disliked by *all* his fellow-
 subjects, is wandering from the candour to which men in
 general, but historians in particular, should invariably ad-
 here. On this occasion, the character is mangled which
 hath, in other parts, been skilfully dissected. That in
 prison, Sir Walter Raleigh was ' the object of great love, and
 ' admiration,' can never be disputed. It may be affirmed, in;
 contradiction to the celebrated writer, that the nation acted
 reasonably. They must have been prejudiced to a criminal
 degree, who beheld without surprize, attachment and
 applause, the calm fortitude, the active talents, and the
 literary pursuits of this illustrious prisoner, during a con-
 finement of thirteen years, within the tower.

" sentence was purposely kept in force against him,
 " and that he went out under these express condi-
 " tions, they may be supported by the following au-
 " thorities. 1. The king's word, and that of six
 " privy-counsellors who affirm it for fact. 2. The
 " nature of the thing. If no suspicion had been
 " entertained of his intentions, a pardon would
 " never have been refused to a man, to whom
 " authority was intrusted. 3. The words of the
 " commission itself, where he is simply stiled Sir Wal-
 " ter Raleigh, and not faithful, and well-beloved, ac-
 " cording to the usual, and never-failing stile, on
 " such occasions. 4. In all the letters which he wrote
 " to Sir Ralph Winwood, and to his own wife, he
 " always considers himself as a person unpardoned, and
 " liable to the law. He seems, indeed, immediately
 " upon the failure of his enterprize, to have be-
 " come desperate, and to have expected the fate
 " which he met with."

" It is pretended that the king gave intelligence to
 " the Spaniards of Raleigh's project; as if he had need-
 " ed to lay a plot for destroying a man, whose life
 " had been fourteen years, and still was in his power.
 " The Spaniards wanted no other intelligence to be
 " their guard, than the known, and public fact of
 " Raleigh's armament. And there was no reason
 " why the king should conceal from them the project
 " of a settlement, which Raleigh pretended, and the
 " king believed to be intirely innocent."

" The king's chief blame seems to have lain in his
 " negligence, in allowing Raleigh to depart, without
 " a more exact Scrutiny; but, for this he apologizes,
 " by saying that sureties were required for the good
 " behaviour of Raleigh and all his associates in the en-
 " terprize; but that they gave in bonds for each other:
 " a cheat which was not perceived, until they had
 " failed,

" failed, and which increased the suspicion of bad intentions."

" Perhaps, the king ought also to have granted Raleigh a pardon for his old treason, and to have tried him anew for his new offence. His punishment in that case would not only have been just, but conducted in a just, and unexceptionable manner (e). But we are told that a ridiculous opinion (f) at that time

(e) We feel a difficulty in assenting to this position. A king, the fountain of earthly mercy to convicted criminals, extending his pardon to an offender for one species of guilt, in order to obtain the power of inflicting death upon him, for another, presents us with the most disgusting picture of absurdity, meanness, and barbarity. A forgiveness of the old treason should immediately have followed the release of Raleigh, from a long confinement in the tower; a punishment much more than equal to his delinquency. Where was the necessity of reserving the sentence as a check, when he might have been brought to the bar, for subsequent crimes; crimes which, with, retrospect to the lenity of his sovereign, must have pressed on him the more heavily? During the proceedings against Sir Walter, at Winchester, an abandoned jury, after a deliberation of scarcely fifteen minutes, and in contempt of law, and equity, returned their verdict guilty, on the sole, and written evidence of Cobham, a perfidious friend on most occasions, notorious for the profligacy of his manners, and the wretched application of a limited understanding; but, at this memorable, and disgraceful crisis, marked by such contradictions in his testimony as must affect with horror the minds of all who are not lost to every sense of virtue. Could a jury be packed, to serve these flagitious purposes, and shall we conclude that, on the expiration of a period which did not reach to fifteen years, a sufficient number of court-hirelings would be wanting to cast Raleigh, under the evidence of guilt, even in spite of the popular, but ridiculous idea that hostilities directed against the Spaniards, within the Indies, during a profound peace with Europe, were not illegal?

(f) On this subject, (which hath occasioned the preceding note) Osborne also observes that "no peace beyond the

“time prevailed in the nation (and it is plainly supposed by Sir Walter in his apology,) that, by treaty, war was allowed with the Spaniards, in the Indies, although peace was made in Europe: and, while that notion took place, no Jury would have found Raleigh guilty. So that had not the king punished him upon the old sentence, the Spaniards would have had a just cause of complaint against the King, sufficient to have produced a war, at least to have destroyed all cordiality between the nations (g)”

On the morning after he had been brought to the bar of the king's-bench, Sir Walter Raleigh, notwithstanding that it was a time of festivity, and joy (h) proceeded, in the custody of the sheriffs of Middlesex, to the old palace-yard, at Westminster, where, in the front of the parliament-house, a scaffold was erected for his execution. On this he mounted with a chearful countenance, and bowed courteously to the lords, and others of his acquaintance, who were present. When the proper officers had made a proclamation for silence, Raleigh observed that as he was yesterday taken out of his bed, in a strong fit of a fever, which, as its untimeliness forbore no occasion, nor place, might suddenly return, he must first implore God that He would preserve him from its inter-

“the line was a belief so riveted in the opinion of all, as that Raleigh could not have been indicted anew, without the king's producing the original articles, by which his accusers would have been convinced of malice, or his prince of folly.” *Memoirs of king James. p. 108.*

(g) Mr. Hume concludes his remarks with the following passages. “This explication I thought necessary, in order to clear up the story of Raleigh; which, although very obvious, is generally mistaken in so gross a manner, that I scarcely know its parallel in the English history.”

(h) October the 29th; the lord-mayor's day.

interruptions, during the last sufferings; and, next, desire the audience that, if any disability of voice, or dejection of countenance should appear in him, they would impute his situation not to pusillanimity, but to the disorder of his body. Then, pausing for a short time, he sat down, in view of a window, at which the lords Arundel, Northampton, and Doncaster, together with other nobles, were then placed. As they were considerably removed from the scaffold, he apprehended that they could not clearly distinguish his words; and, therefore remarked that he would strain his voice, because he was desirous that they should hear him. The lord Arundel, and others, having answered that they would rather approach the scaffold, advanced immediately towards him. Then Sir Walter Raleigh, having again saluted them, proceeded thus.

“ I thank God that Hz. hath sent me to die in the light, and not in darkness. I likewise thank God that Hz. hath suffered me to die before such an assembly of honourable witnesses, and not, obscurely, in the tower, where, for the space of thirteen years together, I have been oppressed with many miseries. And I return Him thanks that my fever hath not taken me, at this time, as I prayed to Him it might not, that I might clear myself of some accusations unjustly laid to my charge, and leave behind me the testimony of a true heart, both to my king, and country.”

“ There are two main points of suspicion that his majesty hath conceived against me, and which, I conceive, have especially hastened my coming hither; therefore I desire to clear them to your lordships, and resolve you, in the truth thereof. The first is that his majesty hath been informed that I have had some plot, or confederacy with France,

“ for

" for which he had some reasons, although grounded
 " upon a weak foundation. One was, that when I
 " returned to Plymouth, I endeavoured to go to Ro-
 " chelle, which was because I would fain have made
 " my peace, before I came to England. Another rea-
 " son was that again I would have bent my course to
 " France, upon my last intended escape from London,
 " being the place where I might have the best means
 " of making such peace, and the best safeguard, dur-
 " ing that terror from above. These, joined with
 " the coming of the French agent to my house, here,
 " in London, only to confer about my said voyage,
 " together with the report of my having a commission
 " from the king of France, might occasion my being
 " so suspected in this particular, and his majesty to be
 " so displeased with me. But this I say; for a man
 " to call to GOD to witness, at any time, to a false-
 " hood, is a grievous sin. To call HIM as a wit-
 " ness to a falsehood, at the point of death, when
 " there is no time for repentance, is a crime far
 " more impious, and desperate; therefore, for me to
 " call that MAJESTY to witness an untruth, before
 " whose tribunal I must instantly appear, were, be-
 " yond measure sinful, and without hope of pardon.
 " I do yet call that great GOD to Witness, that, as I
 " hope to see HIM, and be saved by HIM, and live
 " in the world to come, I never had any plot, or in-
 " telligence with the French king; never had any
 " commission from him, nor saw his hand, or seal;
 " that I never had any practice, or combination with
 " the French agent, nor ever knew, or saw such a
 " person, until I met him, in my gallery, unlooked
 " for. If I speak not true, O LORD! let me never en-
 " ter into thy kingdom."

“ The second suspicion, or imputation was that
 “ his majesty hath been informed that I had spoken
 “ disloyally of him. The only witness of this was a
 “ base Frenchman, a runnagade, a chemical fellow,
 “ whom I soon knew to be perfidious; for, being
 “ drawn by him into the action of freeing myself at
 “ Winchester, in which, I confess that my hand was
 “ touched, he, being sworn by secrecy over-night,
 “ revealed it, the next morning. It is strange that so
 “ mean a fellow could so far encroach himself into the
 “ favour of the lords (i); and, gaping after some
 “ great reward, could so falsely accuse me of seditious
 “ speeches against his majesty, and be so credited.
 “ But this I here speak; it is no time for me to flatter,
 “ or to fear princes, I who am subject only unto
 “ death. And for me, who have now to do with God
 “ alone, to tell a lye, to get the favour of the king,
 “ were in vain, and yet, if ever I did speak disloyally,
 “ or dishonestly of the king, either to this Frenchman,
 “ or any other, ever intimate the least thought, hurt-
 “ ful, or prejudicial to him, the LORD blot me out of
 “ the Book of Life.”

“ I confess that I did attempt to escape, and it was
 “ only to save my life. I, likewise, confess that I feign-
 “ ed myself to be indisposed (k), at Salisbury; but I hope
 “ that

(i) This was Manourie, a French quack. It appears yet stranger that he could have encroached himself into the favour of the discerning Sir Walter Raleigh.

(k) It is probable that when this unhappy man languished afterwards, under an intermitting fever, the court imagined that he was still acting his impostures; and, therefore, over-ruled the plea of illness, and gave orders that he should be conducted to the bar of the king's-bench, and, (almost immediately) from thence, to the scaffold. If he was not suspected of having feigned sickness, at this alarming juncture, the rapid cruelty of James, and his advisers, is without a parallel.

“ that it was no sin ; for the prophet David did make
 “ himself a fool, and suffered spittle to fall upon his
 “ beard, to escape from the hands of his enemies,
 “ and it was not imputed unto him as a sin. What I
 “ did was only to prolong time, until his majesty came,
 “ in hopes of some commiseration from him.”

“ But I forgive that Frenchman, and, likewise, Sir
 “ Lewis Stuckley, the wrongs which he hath done me,
 “ with all my heart, for, I have received the sacra-
 “ ment, this morning, of Mr. Dean (1), and I have
 “ forgiven all men ; but in charity to others, am
 “ bound to caution them against him, and such as he
 “ is. For Sir Lewis Stuckley, my keeper, and kinf-
 “ man, hath affirmed that I should tell him that my
 “ lord Carew, and my lord of Doncaster, here, did
 “ advise me to escape ; but I protest before GOD,
 “ that I never told him any such thing ; neither did
 “ these lords advise me to any such matter. It is not
 “ likely that I should acquaint two privy-counsellors
 “ of my escape ; nor that I should tell him, my keep-
 “ er, that it was their advice ; neither was there any
 “ reason to tell it him, or he to report it ; for it is
 “ well known that he left me six, eight, or ten days
 “ together, to go whither I listed, while he rode about
 “ the country. He farther accused me that I should
 “ shew him a letter, whereby I did signify that I
 “ would give him ten thousand pounds to escape ; but
 “ GOD cast my soul into everlasting fire, if ever I
 “ made such proffer of ten thousand pounds, or one
 “ thousand pounds ; but, indeed, I shewed him a let-
 “ ter that if he would go with me, there should be
 “ order taken for the discharge of his debts, when he
 “ was gone ; neither had I one thousand pounds ; for,

M 2

“ if

(1) Doctor Robert Tounson, dean of Westminster, who
 attended Raleigh, during his last moments.

" if I had I could have made my peace better with it,
 " otherwise than by giving it to Stuckley. Further, he
 " gave out that when I came to Sir Edward Parham's
 " house, who had been a follower of mine, and gave
 " me good entertainment, I there received some dram
 " of poison : When I answered that I feared no such
 " thing, for I was well assured of those in the house ;
 " and, therefore, wished him to have no such thought.
 " Now, I will not only say, that GOD is the GOD of
 " revenge (*m*), but, also, of mercy ; and I desire
 " GOD to forgive him, as I hope to be forgiven."

" It was told the king that I was brought by force
 " into England, and that I did not intend to return
 " again. Whereas captain Charles Parker, Mr. Tre-
 " sham, Mr. Leak, and divers others that knew how I
 " was dealt withal by the common soldiers, will wit-
 " ness to the contrary. There was an hundred and
 " fifty of them, who mutinied against me, and sent for
 " me to come to them ; for, unto me, they would not
 " come. They kept me close prisoner in my cabin,
 " and forced me to take an oath that I would not go
 " into England, without their consent, otherwise, they
 " would have cast me into the sea. After I had taken
 " this oath, I did, by wine, gifts, and fair words, so work
 " upon the master-gunner, and twelve of the fac-
 " tion, that I won them to desist from their purposes,
 " and intended, when I returned home, to procure
 " their pardon ; and, in the mean while, I proposed
 " that

(*m*) It were to be wished that the insinuation that God
 is the God of revenge had not been in the last speech of
 one who professes to have forgiven all men. This passage
 tends rather to lessen than increase the force of the succeed-
 ing sentence : " I desire God to forgive him, as I expect to be
 " forgiven." Perhaps these words induced Mr. Hume to
 observe that, on the scaffold, Raleigh endeavoured to
 revenge himself, and to load his enemies with the public
 hatred.

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“ that I would dispose of some of them, in Ireland ; to
 “ which they agreed, and would have gone into the
 “ north parts, from which I dissuaded them, and told
 “ them that they were Redshanks who inhabit there, so
 “ drew them to the south ; and the better to clear my-
 “ self of them, was forced to give them an hundred,
 “ and fifty pounds, at Kinsale, otherwise I had never
 “ got from them.”

“ There was a report also that I meant not to go
 “ to Guiana, at all ; and that I knew not of any mine,
 “ nor intended any such matter ; but only to get my
 “ liberty, which I had not the wit to keep. But it
 “ was my intent to go for gold, for the benefit of his
 “ majesty, myself, and those who went with me, with
 “ the rest of my countrymen ; although he that knew
 “ the head of the mine would not discover it, when he
 “ saw that my son was slain (n), but made himself
 “ away. My lord of Arundel ! You being in the
 “ gallery of my ship, at my departure, I remember,
 “ you took me by the hand, and said that you would
 “ request one thing of me, which was that whether I
 “ made a good or a bad voyage, that I would return
 “ again into England, which I then promised, and gave
 “ you my faith that I would (o). Another slander
 “ was raised of me, that I should have gone away from
 “ them, and have left them, at Guiana ; but there were
 “ a great many worthy men, who accompanied me al-
 “ ways, as my serjeant-major, and divers others who
 “ knew it was none of my intention. Also, it hath
 “ been said that I stinted them of fresh water ; to
 “ which I answer that every one was (as it must be in a
 M 3 “ ship.)

(n) Here, also, the reader will observe that Raleigh did not pretend to know any thing of the mine.

(o) Arundel answered : “ So you did, it is true ; and
 “ they were the last words I said to you.”

“ ship,) furnished by measure, and not according to
 “ their appetites. This course all seamen know must
 “ be used amongst them, and to this streight were we
 “ driven. Another opinion was held that I carried
 “ with me sixteen thousand pieces of gold; and that
 “ all the voyage I intended was but to gain my liber-
 “ ty, and this money into my hands. But, as I shall
 “ answer it before GOD, I had no more, in all the
 “ world, either directly, or indirectly, than one hun-
 “ dred pounds; whereof I gave about forty-five pounds
 “ to my wife. But the ground of this false report
 “ was that twenty thousand pounds being adventured,
 “ and but four thousand appearing in the surveyor’s
 “ books, the rest had my hand to the bills for divers
 “ adventures; but, as I hope to be saved, I had not a
 “ penny more than one hundred pounds. These are
 “ the material points (p) I thought good to speak of,
 “ I am, at this instant, to render my account to GOD,
 “ and I protest, as I shall appear before HIM, that this
 “ which I have spoken of is true.”

“ I will borrow but a little more time of Mr. She-
 “ riff, that I may not detain him too long; and, here-
 “ in, I shall speak of the imputation laid upon me
 “ through the jealousy of the people, that I had been
 “ a persecutor of my lord of Essex; that I rejoiced in
 “ his death, and stood in a window over-against him
 “ when

(p) It is remarkable that Sir Walter Raleigh did not, on the scaffold, take the least notice of the nature of the commission which empowered him to make discoveries in the southern quarters of America. May we not, without the shadow of injustice, represent this silence, (and, particularly, when no other material points of vindication, and defence, are unnoticed,) as a proof that he could not sincerely think of invalidating one opinion of the court-partizans, who asserted that the tenor of the commission implied that Raleigh was not pardoned?

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" when he suffered ; and puffed out tobacco, in defi-
 " ance of him ; when, as God is my witness, that I
 " shed tears for him when he died ; and, as I hope to
 " look God in the face, hereafter, my lord of Essex
 " did not see my face, at the time of his death ; for
 " I was far off in the Armory, where I saw him, but he
 " saw not me. It is true that I was of a contrary fac-
 " tion ; but I take the same God to witness that I had
 " no hand in his death, nor bare him any ill affec-
 " tion, but always believed that it would be better for
 " me, that his life had been preserved (q) ; for after
 " his fall, I got the hatred of those who wished me
 " well before ; and those who set me against him (r),
 " set themselves, afterwards, against me, and were my
 " greatest enemies ; and my soul hath many times
 " been grieved that I was not nearer to him when he
 " died ; because, as I understood afterwards, he asked
 " for me, at his death, and desired to have been recon-
 " ciled to me."

" And now I intreat that you all will join with me,
 " in prayer to that great God of Heaven, whom I have
 " grievously offended, (being a man full of all vanity,
 " who hath lived a sinful life, in such callings as have
 " been most inducing to it ; for I have been a soldier,
 " a sailor and a courtier, which are courses of wick-
 " edness, and vice,) that his almighty goodness will

M 4

" for-

(q) Remarks on this passage, and the events which gave rise to it, have been made in the 106th, 107th, 108th, 109th, 110th, and 111th page, of the fourth volume of this work.

(r) If we adhere to the literal meaning of the expression, it will, perhaps, be difficult to reconcile it with a preceding sentence, wherein Raleigh observes that " he never bare Essex any ill affection." It should seem that being " set, against another, ill affection" must follow, as the natural consequence.

"forgive me; that HE will cast away my sins from me; and that HE will receive me into everlasting life. So, I take my leave of you all, making my peace with GOD (s)."

When Sir Walter Raleigh had concluded this speech he delivered to the sheriff the following written summary of it, signed with his own hand, and intitled "My answer to some things, at my death."

"I did never receive any direction from my lord Carew, to make my escape; nor did I ever tell Stucley any such thing. I did never name my lord Hay, and my lord Carew, to Stucley, in other words, or sense, than as my honourable friends, amongst other lords. I did never shew unto Stucley, any letter wherein there were ten thousand pounds named, or any one pound; only I told him that I hoped to procure payment of his debts, in his absence. I never had a commission from the French king. I never saw the French king's hand, or seal, in my life! I never had any plot, or practice with the French, either directly, or indirectly, nor with any other prince, or state, unknown to the king. My true intent was to go to a mine of gold, in Guiana; it was not feigned; but it is true that such a mine there is, within three miles of Saint Thome. I never had in my thought to go from Trinidado, and leave my companies, to come afterwards to the savage island, as Hatby Fearn hath falsely reported. I did not carry with me an hundred pieces. I had
"with

(s) This speech is copied partly from a manuscript in the Harleian library, partly from a manuscript, lately in the possession of Mr. Oldys, and partly from printed Matter. As each of these supplied what was wanting in the others, it is sufficient to inform the reader that no considerable variations are, here, inserted.

SIR WALTER RALEIGH. 185

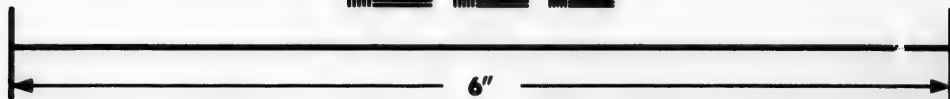
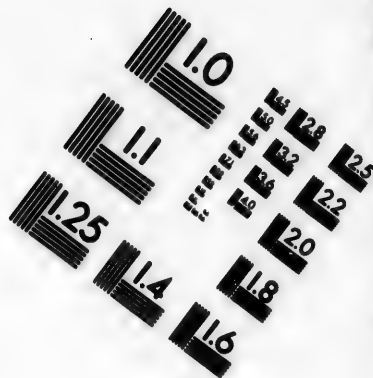
"with me about sixty; and brought back near the same number. I never speak to the French Manourie any one disloyal word, or dishonourable speech of the king; nay, if I had not loved the king truly, and trusted in his goodness somewhat too much, I know that I had not now suffered death."

"These things are most true; as there is a God; and as I am now to appear before his judgement-seat; where I renounce all mercy, and salvation, if this be not truth. W. Raleigh (1).

Sir Walter now prepared for death, and having intreated the Lord Arundel to beseech the king that he would prevent the publication of such writings as might be calculated basely to asperse the memory of one whom he had doomed to suffer, added "I have a long journey to go, and, therefore, must take my leave." Having pulled off his coat, and doublet, he directed the executioner to shew him the Axe, and, perceiving that he hesitated to comply with this demand, exclaimed "I pray thee let me see it. Dost thou think that I am afraid of it?" He then looked, with a serene smile towards the Sheriff, and extending the fatal instrument in his hand, observed "This is a sharp Medicine, but it is a sound cure for all diseases." He, next, intreated the spectators to pray to God that HE would graciously vouchsafe to strengthen, and assist him in the hour of death. The Executioner now fell upon his knees, and desired his forgiveness, when Raleigh, laying his hand, gently, upon his shoulder, said "It is granted." Being asked in what manner he would extend himself on the block, he answered "So the Heart be right, it is no matter how the head lies." As he stooped to prepare himself for the last sufferings, his own Cloak was spread under him. After a short pause, he,

(1) Raleigh's Remains.





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A vertical ruler with markings from 1.6 to 2.0. The markings are: 1.6, 1.8, 2.0, 2.2, 2.4, 2.5, 2.6, 2.8, 3.0, 3.2, 3.4, 3.6, 3.8, 4.0, 4.2, 4.4, 4.6, 4.8, 5.0, 5.2, 5.4, 5.6, 5.8, 6.0, 6.2, 6.4, 6.6, 6.8, 7.0, 7.2, 7.4, 7.6, 7.8, 8.0, 8.2, 8.4, 8.6, 8.8, 9.0, 9.2, 9.4, 9.6, 9.8, 10.0.

he, by lifting up his hands, gave the signal for the stroke, and at two blows, his head was severed from the body. When it had been shewn, on each side of the scaffold, it was conveyed away in a mourning coach, which had been sent for that purpose, by the lady Raleigh. The body received interment within the chancel, and near the altar of the church of Saint Margaret, at Westminster; but the head was preserved in a case, during the life-time of his unhappy widow, who survived the execution of her husband, twenty-nine years. At her decease, it was taken, and afterwards kept, with equal veneration, by her son Carew, with whom it is recorded to have been buried (*).

Thus perished, at the age of sixty-six years, Sir Walter Raleigh (*), a victim to the resentment of the

(*) Mr. Oldys remarks that although it was imagined, by Anthony Wood, that Carew Raleigh was buried at Westminster, in the same Grave with his father, yet it is asserted, at West Hordley, in Surrey, (which was his seat,) that he was interred there. The inhabitants have a tradition that, at the burial, the head of Sir Walter Raleigh, which had been kept by Carew, was put into the grave, with the corpse of the latter.

Mr. Nicholas, a gentleman who resided on the estate, remarked, in a letter addressed to a friend, that "he verily believed that the head which he saw digged up there, in the year, one thousand, seven hundred, and three, from the side of a grave wherein a Carew Raleigh had been buried, was that of Sir Walter Raleigh, there being no bones of a body to it, nor room for any bones, as the rest of that side of the grave was firm chalk."

(*) Harlein MS.—The celebrated Mr. Walpole hath observed that Sir Walter Raleigh "imitated the death of Essex more worthily than he beheld it," and, with concern

* Royal, and Noble Authors, V. 1. p. 147. Article Essex.

Spaniards, and to the sordid pusillanimity of his sovereign, who eager to accomplish the marriage of the prince

cern must it be added, more worthily than he encompassed it. Mr. Hume remarks † that "with the utmost indifference, he laid his head upon the block, and received the fatal blow. And, in his death, there appeared the same great, but ill-regulated mind, which, during his life, had displayed itself in all his conduct, and behaviour." We must confess that we want penetration sufficient to discover the least mark of this utmost indifference. It appears not either in his speech, or at the moment of his exit. The idea which is suggested to us of a "great, but ill-regulated Mind," should be guarded against, when it proceeds from a philosopher, to whose sect it were a misery to belong. He calls in question the solemn assertions of Raleigh that he had not contributed to the death of Essex; yet mentions the "Appearance of a great Mind." It is far to an extreme, from being great, in any sense whatsoever that can be put upon the word. We make this observation under the conjecture that Raleigh was accessory to the fate of Essex. In this light, we can perceive only a base, and infernal mind: an horrid mixture of the most abominable cowardice, and the most desperate audacity. Fearing the censure of his fellow-creatures more than he dreaded the vengeance of his God, Raleigh rushes into his awful presence, after the positive denial of an established fact. For the sake of argument, be it allowed that this unhappy man was innocent of that particular crime; the procurement of the death of Essex. Amidst the assertions of that innocence, do we perceive an "ill-regulated mind?" Is it "ill-regulated" to expire like a Christian? Or, is it "great," in the last moment of life, to bid the PURE FOUNTAIN OF ALL TRUTH, bear witness to a falsity? In whichever form, we receive the observation of Mr. Hume, we receive it reeking with the worst of poisons. In charity to a celebrated individual, (for whose memory we retain all proper veneration,) let us suppose that he had overlooked the tendency of this remark. It is however necessary that we should endeavour to confute it. Amendment, and not corruption, must be the leading view of history. Why will not the sceptical philosopher proceed upon the same ground?

† History of England, 8vo. V. 6. p. 99.

prince of Wales with the infant, appeared content to seal their union with the blood of one of the greatest, and most serviceable subjects in the kingdom. Although the late commission did not imply a pardon, yet the people, who beheld with horror the execution of a severe, and long suspended sentence, and were unanimously disgusted at the prospect of the approaching nuptials, declared, in loud murmurs, that even the common feelings of humanity might have dictated to James the necessity of a pardon, and that fear, indiscretion, barbarity, and injustice, had accelerated the fate of Raleigh. The character of this accomplished hero may be gathered from those incidents of his life which are related in the course of our memoir. Adhering to the just, but painful duty of an historian, we have already expatiated on those principles in his conduct, which seem the most reproachable. Let us now retire from the investigation of crimes which strike the mind with horror, and astonishment. In the more pleasing part of the picture may be perceived cool fortitude; a well directed military skill; a profound knowledge of the naval arts; a zealous predilection for the sea-service, united with a generous attachment to the sailors, and a firm maintenance of proper discipline; a degree of learning which few of the men of genius, who flourished during the last century, have been capable of reaching; wide experience in the mysteries of government; a love of action perpetually stimulated by unremitting ardour in the chase of fame; the heroism of the mind which no affliction could suppress; an unabated determination to encourage hope, when every future prospect appeared a signal for despair; a calm, but vigorous exertion of diffusive talents, amidst the imbecility of age, the attacks of sickness, and the Horrors of Imprisonment; the

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the mild, and justly-regulated indulgence of a bounteous master; the strict fidelity, and tender affections of an admiring husband; the unremitted, yet affectionate observance of parental duties; an inviolable adherence to all the laws which are connected with the necessity of filial reverence; the rigid preservation of those exalted ties which have united men in honourable friendships; the agreeable address of an accomplished gentleman; and the innocent, but sportive humour of the gay companion. Such were the virtues, and the qualities of Raleigh. Amidst the recollections of his errors, may these be not forgotten (y)!

(y) The fate of the Lord Cobham, and Sir Lewis Stucley, the perfidious friends of Raleigh, is too singular to be omitted. Cobham, once in possession of an income amounting to seven thousand pounds, died, starved to death, naked, and covered with vermin, in a room ascended by a ladder, at the house of a poor woman, (who had formerly been his laundress,) in the Minorities. This relation comes from the authority of William, earl of Pembroke. The king, to whom the estate of Cobham should have escheated, was fraudulently deprived of it; and therefore could give him no maintenance, except from the crown-revenues; a charity which was refused to him. Lady Cobham possessed an immense fortune, yet would not grant to her husband the crumbs which fell from her table.—Previous to the expiration of a year from the time of his having been bribed to betray Raleigh, Sir Lewis Stucley was detected, in the palace, at Whitehall, clipping the very pieces of gold which had been paid to him, as the wages of guilt. He was tried, and sentenced to be hanged, but, having sold all his effects, even to his shirt, for the purpose of buying a pardon, he obtained the royal mercy, through the interest of two knights. He, then, escaped from the view, and contempt of his fellow-creatures to the isle of Lundy, on the river Severn, where he died, a victim to the complicated evils of beggary, and madness.

MEMOIRS

OF

ILLUSTRIOUS SEAMEN, &c.

CONTINUATION OF

The FIFTH PERIOD.

NAVAL, COMMERCIAL, and MISCELLANEOUS
TRANSACTIONS, during the REIGN of CHARLES,
the FIRST.

AT the demise of James, Charles, - Prince of Wales, succeeded to the throne, amidst the general approbation of his subjects (a). He was in the flower of his age, and endued with considerable abilities, of which he had made so prudent a use, from the period at which the Spanish match was broken off, that he became the favourite of the people (b). His father left him in a situation exceedingly perplex-

(a) Frankland's Annals, p. 107.—Clarendon's history of the rebellion. Oxford, 1712. 8vo. V. 1. p. 22—24.—Rushworth, V. 1. p. 165.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 104.

(b) Wilson's History of king James, in Kennet, p. 779, 780.—Frankland's Annals, p. 93.—Rapin, V. 2. Folio. p. 228, 229.—Sir P. Warwick's Memoirs.—See the parliamentary

perplexing. The government was involved in debt; a war with Spain had just commenced, and the duke of Buckingham, yet in possession of the post of prime-minister, remained an object of the general hatred (c). At this alarming crisis, all points were subject to wrong constructions. Eight thousand men, raised for the service of the Palatinate, were directed to repair to Plymouth, and, during their march thither, the inhabitants of the country received orders to supply them with coat, and conduct-money, of which they were promised a repayment from the Exchequer. The behaviour of the troops was licentious to an extreme, and the long continuance of peace made it appear a greater evil. At length, the clamour rose to such a violent degree, that Charles, concluding that the measure would be satisfactory to the subjects who had been particularly aggrieved, issued a commission for the execution of martial law, which, instead of being considered as a remedy, proved the cause of murmurs more violent than any of the former (d).

It must be confessed that whilst Buckingham retained any influence at the council-board, every odious proceeding was attributed to him; and such were the prejudices which the nation had conceived against him, that

mentary History of England, (V. 6.) where the whole of the business relating to the Spanish match, the share which the prince of Wales, and the duke of Buckingham took therein, in parliament, and the effects which it produced, are ably, and accurately treated.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 104.

(c) Clarendon, V. 1. p. 25.—Bulstrode's Memoirs of the reign of Charles the first, p. 25.—Sir P. Warwick's memoirs, p. 16.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 104.

(d) Rushworth, V. 1. p. 168.—Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 1.—Keanet, V. 3. p. 4.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 105.

that all acts in which he was suspected to have been concerned were regarded as grievances. Of this circumstance no person within the kingdom felt the force more irresistibly than the sovereign, and yet in consequence of an infatuation which it would be difficult to account for, he extended his affection, and his trust to that aspiring favourite, with even less reserve than he had hitherto enjoyed it.

The treaty of marriage between Charles, and the princess Henrietta-Maria, daughter to Henry, the fourth of France, had been concluded, during the life-time of James the first, and, after his decease, the young king was espoused to her, by proxy. In June, of the year, one thousand, six hundred, and twenty-five, Buckingham set sail, in order to attend her, with the royal navy, and, soon afterwards, conducted her to Dover. From thence, she proceeded to Canterbury, where the marriage was consummated. On the sixteenth of the same month the royal pair entered London, privately, the plague daily increasing within the suburbs (e). It was not long before an unfortunate transaction rendered this marriage disgusting to the people, and, as the subject falls particularly under our cognizance, we shall explain it, with all its material circumstances, to the reader.

The marquis d'Effiat, ambassador from the court of France, to that of England, had represented to James, the first, that the power of the Catholic king in Italy, was dangerous to all Europe, and that his sovereign was

desirous

(e) Stowe's Annals, continued by Howes, p. 1041.—L'Estrange's history of Charles the first, p. 6.—Dupleix. Histoire de Louis, le juste, p. 254.—Relation of the Triumphs, and Ceremonies observed at the marriage of Charles, and Henrietta Maria; London, 1625. Quarto.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 105.

desirous of curtailing it, but, being destitute of a sufficient naval force, proposed to borrow a small number of English ships, in order to enable him to execute the design which he had formed against Genoa (*f*). To this measure, Charles, soon after his accession, gave his assent; and it was agreed that the Great Neptune, a man of war, commanded by Sir Ferdinando Gorges, and six merchant ships, each of the burthen of either three, or four hundred tons, should be sent to the assistance of the French. The equipment of this fleet gave rise to an application from the inhabitants of Rochelle, who signified that they had just grounds to apprehend that the English Squadron would be employed for the destruction of the Protestant interest in France, instead of the diminution of the Spanish power, within the states of Italy.

As the duke of Buckingham knew that these operations would prove disgusting to Pennington, the admiral of the fleet, and to the owners of the ships, he gave them private instructions, contrary to the public agreement with France, whereby they were directed not to serve against Rochelle; but, on their arrival, in the month of May, at a French port, they were informed by the duke of Montmorency, that they were intended to serve, and absolutely should serve against Rochelle. In consequence of this imperious mandate, the English sailors, on board the fleet, signed, (what they term a round Robin,) a paper, expressive of their Resolution not to engage in that service. Their names were

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writ-

(*f*) Sir Philip Warwick's Memoirs, p. 21.—Memoirs of the duke of Rohan, Book 2. p. 108.—Kennet, V. 3. p. 6.—Rushworth's Collection, V. 1. p. 174.—L'Estrange's history of Charles the first, p. 56, 57.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 106.

written in a circle, that it might not be discerned who made the first signature.

When this measure had been carried into execution, Pennington stood out to sea, with the whole squadron, and returned into the Downs, at the commencement of July. Soon after his arrival, he addressed a letter to Buckingham, and desired to be excused from bearing a part in so painful, and dishonourable a service. The duke, without either acquainting the king, or consulting the council, directed the lord Conway, who, during that period, was secretary of state, to send an express to Pennington, and commanded him to resign all the ships into the hands of the French. As this proceeding had no effect, Buckingham, surreptitiously, and, yet concealing from the king the plan of operations again Rochelle, prevailed on him to send, in writing, a repetition of those orders which had been transmitted to the English admiral. In consequence of the royal interposition, Pennington sailed, a second time, to Dieppe, where, according to his instructions, the merchantmen were delivered to the French; but Sir Ferdinando Gorges, who commanded the royal ship, weighed anchor, and put to sea. All the crews, except a gunner (*g*), now deserted from the service, and returned to England. The vessels remained in the hands of the French, and were actually employed against Rochelle, to the great dishonour of the nation, and contrary

(*g*) This man was afterwards killed in charging a cannon before Rochelle *. Mr. Hume, who describes him as singly preferring his duty towards his king to the cause of religion, observes that the care which historians have taken to record this frivolous event, proves with what pleasure the News was received in England.

* Frankland, p. 109. — Rushworth, V. i. p. 175, 176, &c. 325, 326, &c.

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trary to the intention of the king. This transaction increased the popular discontent, and, at length, formed an article of the impeachment against the duke of Buckingham (*h*).

We, now, enter on the relation of a sea-engagement, and shall present it to the reader, chiefly in the words of an officer who was present.

On the thirtieth of January, in the year, one thousand, six hundred, and twenty-five, the English, and Dutch ships (*i*) being in the road of Gombroon, there arrived a small frigate, belonging to a place called Chowle, which was then at war with the Portuguese. When she had anchored between the main, and Ormus, captain Weddel sent Mr. Andrew Evans, in a small boat, to inquire from what harbour her commander had sailed last, and whether he could give any intelligence concerning the Portuguese Armada. He answered that he came from a town distant about eight, or ten leagues from Chowle, and situated to the Southward of it; that his frigate was laden with pepper, and other merchandize; and that, on the twenty-fourth of Ja-

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nuary,

(*h*) Frankland, p. 156.—Kennet's compleat history of England, V. 3. p. 6.—Captain John Pennington's letter to the Duke of Buckingham, from on board the Vanguard, in the Downs, July 27, 1625.—Cabala, p. 350.—The most distinct account is to be gathered out of the seventh, and eighth articles exhibited against the duke of Buckingham, by the house of commons, in the year, one thousand, six hundred, and twenty-six; and the speech of Mr. Glanvill on the subject of the said articles.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 106, 107, 108.

(*i*) These were, of English vessels, the Royal-James, admiral; the Jonas, vice-admiral; the Star, rear-admiral; and the Eagle. John Weddel was the commander in chief. The Dutch Squadron consisted of the South-Holland, admiral; the Bantam, vice-admiral; the Maud of Dort, rear-admiral; and the Weasope. The chief commander was Albert Becker.

nuary, as he was off Cape Cordell, and between the coast of India, and Cape Jacques, he discovered, to the Leeward, eight large galleons, and several frigates, the last of which gave chase, but could not come up with him, as he had taken shelter, in shallow water, near the shore.

At day-break, and, on the thirty-first of January, the English, and Dutch fleets heard the discharge of three pieces of Ordnance, at Kishme Castle, the governor of which had promised captain Weddel that, if he discovered any ships, he would, by firing thrice, give the signal of their approach.

A mariner was now sent up to the top-mast-head of the Royal James, from whence he discovered eight sail of ships, attended by several frigates. Weddel then gave orders that the bloody colours should be hoisted, and a gun discharged, as a warning for all the fleet to put themselves in readiness. At the same time, the Dutch weighed anchor, and getting under sail, stood towards the enemy, whose intention was to bear down upon them unprepared. But their hopes were frustrated.

Towards eight at night, it became calm, and the English Squadron cast anchor, when the commander of the Dutch ships sent the master of the South-Holland, and several merchants on board the Royal-James, to ask the opinion of captain Weddel, concerning the fleet he had just descried. He answered that it was the Portuguese Armada, which had been two years preparing to intercept the Dutch, and English; that these formidable adversaries were now arrived from Goa, flushed with the hopes of victory, and intended, should their previous attempts become successful, to direct their hostilities against Ormus, Kishme, and Gombroon, to destroy the settled trade of the inhabitants,
and

and to extirpate them with ruin, and dishonour. He added that he was determined to engage the Portuguese, whilst he had an individual alive, within his ship, and he did not entertain a doubt but that all others, under his command, had formed the same laudable resolution. The Dutch replied that they would support the English, by every brave, and vigorous effort, within their power.

On the first of February, the South-Holland, the Bantam, the Maud, and the Weasope, set sail, almost an hour before the appearance of day, and were soon followed by the English squadron; but the Dutch admiral being far a-head, fired the first shot at the Portuguese, who returned it by a discharge of three guns.

The contending fleets were now within a short distance of each other, when it fell calm, in consequence of which event, our ships could not be worked, but as the tide set them, so that when the Portuguese were board, and board, they had a great advantage over us, by the assistance of their frigates, which often towed them clear of each other; an assistance that we greatly wanted. Thus we lay, during four, or five hours, discharging our ordnance at each other; whilst the frigates plied us incessantly with their small shot. Towards the evening a brisk gale arose; yet the enemy was to Windward, and the Admiral, and vice-admiral of the Portuguese endeavoured to board the Royal-James. Captain Weddel, perceiving their intentions, commanded the master of his ship to bear a little lasking, in order to separate them from each other, that he might have room to pass between them. The vice-admiral of the enemy, observing that the Royal-James bore up, advanced towards this ship, when, suddenly, captain Weddel, observing a possibility that he might fall to Windward of him, caused his mizen, and

mizen-top-sail, to be set, and soon afterwards weathered him, edging close up with the admiral, and being within musket-shot of both. The Portuguese admiral put to stay, by which means the Royal James got the wind of him also, and came so near under his stern, that his boats were close at the side of our ship, as she sheered by. We now poured into him a whole broad-side, (every shot raking him fore and aft,) and then tacked, and stood after him. During this engagement, which lasted until five in the evening, eight of the mariners, belonging to the Royal James, were killed, and others received slight wounds. On this day, also, fell the chief commander of the Dutch, a valiant, and experienced officer. The Royal James, alone, expended nearly seven hundred large shot; and the other ships discharged their artillery almost as frequently. At sun-set, the Portuguese retreated, and came to an anchor at the east end of Kishme, the English being stationed north north-west, and distant from them about two leagues. Thus ended the first engagement.

On the second of February, the wind, which was not extremely brisk, blew from the coast of Kishme; an advantage which the enemy, who betrayed great negligence, might easily have embraced. The English, and the Dutch, were assiduously employed in the repair of their damaged rigging, and in closing those dangerous shot-holes which, during the fight, they had received from the enemy, betwixt wind and water.

In the afternoon of the same day, a consultation was holden on board the Royal James, when it was determined by the Dutch, and English, that they would give battle to the enemy, at the first appearance of the next morning, and that the South-Holland should follow

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follow the Royal James, which was intended to be the leading ship. Accordingly, on the third of February, and at break of day, the two fleets weighed anchor; and the Royal James, having obtained the weather-gage of the enemy, stood right with the admiral of the Portuguese, (headmost, except one ship,) who discharged a broad-side, which Weddel commanded his crew not to return, until they were brought nearer within danger. On a closer approach, the Royal James fired a whole broad-side against the admiral, and vice-admiral of the Portuguese, which occasioned them to bear away. Taking the advantage of this separation, the Eagle and the Weasope chased one of the adverse ships, during three hours, with a view of preventing her from returning to the fleet. All this time, the Royal James was furrounded, and attacked by the Portuguese; but, after a desperate engagement, in the course of which the cannon of the English were incessantly discharged, the enemy thought proper to retreat. Whilst the admiral-ship, commanded by captain Weddel, continued along side of a large vessel in the service of the Portuguese, five hundred shot passed through her hull, masts, sails, and yards, before that she was enabled to get clear.

On the same morning, Weddel had converted a Portuguese frigate into a fire-ship, for the destruction of the largest vessel belonging to the enemy; but (through the negligence of Darby, the master, who did not arrive at the appointed place, in time,) she was chased by the frigates, when the crew, consisting only of ten men, who could not possibly have made a vigorous resistance, set fire to her, at a distance from the fleet, and returned in a barge, which had been stationed near at hand for the purpose of facilitating their escape. The Portuguese frigate continued in flames, during

the whole day and night, and at five, the next morning, (whether towed by the boats of the enemy, or driven by the currents, is uncertain,) she approached, burning, towards the Dutch, and English fleets, and forced them to slip their cables, the anchors of which were found, on the third day, from this event.

At day-break, on the fourth of February, the united squadrons advanced towards the Portuguese, who crowded every sail, in order to take shelter, under the island of Lowrack, which is situated nearly nine miles from Ormus. To the former place, their frigates proceeded a-head, and conducted them in over a bar. The English, and Dutch ships gave chase as far as was consistent with their own safety, but, being destitute of pilots, made no attempt to explore a dangerous, and unfrequented passage. Convinced that the Portuguese were impolitic, malicious, and implacable, they naturally suspected that ordnance had been planted on the shore, for the purpose of destroying them at their approach. Could they have supposed the contrary, they might have endangered the vessels of the enemy, by chaining together some frigates, and turning them, upon the ebb, athwart their hawse. At this juncture, it was regarded as most expedient to continue stationed about the distance of a league from the island of Lowrack. Having weighed their anchor, the English fired a parting shot at the vessels of their adversaries, who returned it by the discharge of one cannon. Towards the close of the evening, the united fleets entered Gombroon-Road, and the crews were immediately employed to repair the damages which the vessels had sustained, to fit our masts, yards, sails, and rigging, and to stop the breaches.

During this last engagement, the main-top-mast of the Jonas, and the main-mast of the Star were
shot

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shot by the board. The mizen-mast, flag, and flag-staff of the admiral-ship, were also carried away by the artillery of the enemy, and her hull was much damaged. The head of the main-mast belonging to the Eagle was shot away, and another ship lost all her top-masts. In short, the fleets of the Dutch, and English, suffered so severely, that they were become almost destitute of proper masts, yards, sails, and tackling.

At day-break of the thirteenth of February, they proceeded again from the road to Gombroon, attended by four junks, and other freighted vessels, under the conduct of the Dutch. The Portuguese, who had observed their motions, now slipped their cables, and stood out to sea, endeavouring so to direct their course, that their enemies might be nearest to the land. At sunset, when the gale had freshened, every ship belonging to the different fleets, were at a short distance from the other, and, without offering to commit the least hostility, kept company for a considerable space of time.

On the thirteenth, at night, such was the violence of the wind, which blew at west-south-west, that one of the large Portuguese galleons lost the head of her main-mast, close under the hounds. Unable to hoist her main-sail, she was obliged to continue her course under her fore-sail, fore-top-sail, sprit-sail, and mizen. The wind still remained in the same quarter; and the galleons steered away south and by east.

On the fourteenth, and soon after the appearance of morning, the Dutch fleet stayed, and bore up towards the junks, which, during the preceding night, had dropped so far astern that the English could scarcely descry them. The Royal James also shortened sail; but the Portuguese continued on their course.

At

At noon of the same day, and when the Dutch had re-joined the English, it was agreed that the Royal James should first attack the admiral-ship, in the service of the Portuguese, and that immediately afterwards the rest of the fleet should assist, during the engagement. Accordingly, at two in the afternoon, the Dutch, and the English, having received the first broad-side from the enemy, returned it by a discharge of their artillery. The victory was obstinately contested, until the close of the day, when, although each party had severely annoyed the other, all hostilities were discontinued, and neither yielded. At night, the Portuguese bore away for Swar, where they had constructed a large fortress; and the English, and Dutch, steered their course towards Surat.

The reasons given by captain Weddel, in vindication of their having declined the chase, were, first, because the year was advanced to a period beyond which it must have been difficult to deliver goods at Surat, and then sail away from the coast, before the westerly monsoons should set in. These winds blow from April, to October, during which time, an attempt to put off to sea might prove dangerous. Secondly, the Royal James had only thirty-one barrels, and five hundred cartridges of powder, together with six hundred shot, all of which were insufficient to enable them to maintain an engagement, for the space of a whole day; as, at the close of a former fight, after the expiration of nearly twelve hours, the Royal James alone had discharged a thousand great shot against the enemy. In the last contest, this ship expended three hundred shot, and lost but one man.

The total number of the slain amongst the English, including officers, and sailors, amounted to twenty-nine. Of the Dutch were slain nearly thirty; and, amongst

amongst these fell Albert Becker, the chief commander of their fleet.

The Portuguese admiral-ship (*k*) named the Francisco, and commanded by Don Aliud Batellia, mounted forty-eight pieces of brass ordnance. On board were three hundred and fifty men, of which thirty-eight fell during the engagements; and amongst these were three chief captains, all killed by the same shot. Their names were Lorenzo Luis, Jeronimo Botelia, and Brassa Coze. The fore-mast, bowsprit, and main-mast of the Francisco were so damaged by shot, that they became unserviceable. The mizen-mast, flag, and flag-staff were carried away, and the rigging was extremely torn.

The vice-admiral ship, named also the Francisco, was commanded by Don Francisco Burgo, and mounted thirty-two guns. The crew consisted of two hundred and fifty men, of which thirty, and also their commander, were slain. The main-top-mast, fore-mast, and bowsprit, together with the head of the main-top-mast, and all the rigging were rent, and torn to so violent a degree, that they could not afterwards be applied to any uses whatever.

The Sebastian, their rear-admiral-ship, commanded by Don Antonio Telas, was the largest in the fleet, and carried forty pieces of brass ordnance. On board were four hundred men, twenty of whom fell, during

(*k*) This sequel is delivered to us as having been taken from "a relation (by Peter Hillion, a Frenchman,) of "the force of the eight Portuguese galleons, which fought "with the Dutch, and English fleets, in the gulph of Persia, "including an account of the spoil taken, and the number "of men slain, on the thirteenth, and fourteenth of February, in the year, one thousand, six hundred and twenty-five." Hillion, who was on board the Portuguese admiral-ship, at Surat, escaped to the English.

ing the engagements. The main-mast, fore-top-mast, fore-yard, and sprit-sail top-mast were shot by the board; and the fore-mast was shattered to such a degree, that it could bear no sail.

Of the Salvador, the fourth ship, Don Francisco de Suar was commander. The number of guns amounted to twenty-four; and, on board were two hundred, and fifty-men, of which forty together with their chief officer, were slain. All the masts of this ship, were entirely shattered, and unfit for service.

The fifth ship, named the Jago, and commanded by Simon de Kintall, carried twenty-two pieces of brass ordnance. On board were two hundred men, and of these eighty-three were killed. The masts remained intire; but the hull, which had received several shot between wind and water, was full of leaks; a situation in consequence of which the ship sunk, soon afterwards, near the coast of India.

The Trinidado, the sixth ship, was commanded by Pedro Alva Botelia. She mounted twenty-two pieces of brass ordnance, and her crew consisted of two hundred, and fifty men, of which all, excepting seven, were slain. Her top-masts were shot by the board; and every other mast was so shattered that she could bear no sail, but was afterwards towed from Muscat, to Goa.

On board the seventh ship, the Antonio, which carried twenty-two pieces of brass ordnance, were two hundred men, commanded by Don de Burallia. During the engagements, twenty-two of the crew were slain. The mast continued standing; but several shot had pierced the sides of this vessel, which foundered afterwards near the coast of India.

The eighth ship, named Miserere Cordium, was commanded by Roderigo de Chava, and mounted twenty-two

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two pieces of brass ordnance. Out of two hundred men, the number of the crew, but three were slain. The fore-top-mast, main-yard, fore yard, and main top-sail-yard were shot by the board; and the fore-mast was so extremely rent, that it became unserviceable.

The pieces of ordnance belonging to this fleet were, in number, two hundred, and thirty-two; the crews amounted to two thousand, and one hundred men, of which four hundred, and eighty-one were slain, during the engagements.

At this period, a naval armament had been equipped for the purpose of assisting the troops appointed to invade the Spaniards; but as Buckingham, in quality of lord-high-admiral, had the supreme direction of the enterprize, the people regarded it with disgust, and were so far rejoiced at its miscarriage, as it furnished them with an opportunity of railing at the duke, and those who, in consequence of his interest, were intrusted with the command of the fleet, and forces (*l*). The whole of this transaction hath been differently related, and less with an adherence to truth, than from a view of gratifying the inclinations of a party. From the most authentic memoirs which yet remain, it is here intended to introduce a concise, and impartial detail of facts, which will prove to what danger princes are exposed when they employ persons disagreeable to the greatest part of their subjects; an error by which they almost necessarily transfer the resentments attending their miscarriages upon themselves (*m*).

The war with Spain was occasioned chiefly by the duke of Buckingham; and seems to have proceeded more

(*l*) Frankland's Annals, p. 114.—Rushworth.—Sir William Monson's naval tracts.—Kennet.—Rapin.

(*m*) Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 108.

more from his personal distaste to count Olivarez, than from any solid, or honourable motive. Whatsoever may have been the case, the war, once begun, ought, certainly, to have been prosecuted, since, although the duke acted from private pique, and at a time when it visibly served his own particular purposes, yet, without question, the nation had been injured, and insulted by the Spaniards. Sufficient grounds were not wanting for taking all the advantages which could be derived from our naval power, and our alliance with the Dutch; from the weakness of the enemy, and from their first persuasion that, in spite of our menaces, we should not actually proceed to the commission of hostilities. Yet, although it was a war particularly grafted on the inclinations, and the power of Buckingham; although he had engaged the king to prosecute it with every appearance of vigour, and resentment; and to assemble a formidable fleet, together with a considerable body of forces, appointed to embark on board of it; when the preparations were drawing to a conclusion, and the naval armaments were almost in readiness for their departure, the duke resigned the chief command, and determined to send another officer in his room; a conduct which proved baneful to the whole design (n).

Sir Edward Cecil, Grandson to the great lord Burleigh, was the person of whom the duke made choice for this command. That he bore the character of a brave, and experienced soldier, is not to be disputed; but his naval talents were, in all respects, too limited to qualify him for the supreme direction of such an enter-

(n) Frankland's Annals, p. 114.—Rushworth's Collections, V. 1. p. 196.—Kennet's compleat History of England, V. 3. p. 12, 13.—Warwick's Memoirs, p. 15.—Whitlocke p. 2.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 108, 109.

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enterprize (o). The earls of Essex, and of Denbigh were appointed his vice, and rear-admirals; and in order that he might enjoy dignities likely to reconcile men of such quality to a full submission under his command, he was advanced to the rank of lord-marshal, and, at the same time, created baron of Putney, and viscount Wimbleton (p). It was deemed equally extraordinary, impolitic, and unreasonable, that although there wanted not many able seamen, such as Sir Robert Mansel, Sir William Monson, and others, yet none of them were trusted, but only those who enjoyed the favour of the duke, as if that circumstance could have conferred merit.

The force employed was extremely formidable, and consisted of eighty Dutch, and English ships, together with ten tried regiments. It was not, therefore, at all improbable that if matters had been well concerted and wisely executed, this expedition might have turned to the benefit of the nation, and to the honour of the king, and ministry. The Spanish plate-fleet, having more than a million on board, was then on the homeward passage, and must unavoidably have been taken by the English, if the latter had proceeded to Tercera, where, in consequence of the destruction of fifty, or sixty galleons, they might have disabled, for at least a century, the maritime power of the Spaniards. but the English ships did not sail until the month of October; and, even at that period, no particular enterprize was determined on; but every measure was left to the direction of men, who, in reality, were

(o) Clarendon, V. 1. p. 40.—Kennet, p. 12, 13.—L'Estrange's History of Charles, the first, p. 17.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 109.

(p) Dugdale's Baronage, V. 2. p. 407.—Kennet, p. 13. Frankland's Annals.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 109.

were ignorant of the nature of their duty, and, shortly afterwards, became divided in their sentiments (q).

The lord Wimbleton, and his associates sailed from Plymouth, on the seventh of October, in the year, one thousand, six hundred, and twenty-five; but when they had proceeded some leagues to sea, the ships were separated by a storm, and did not arrive until after the expiration of several days, at the appointed rendezvous off Cape Saint Vincent. On the nineteenth of October, a council was assembled, and, in pursuance of their determinations to attack Cadiz, the earl of Essex, on the twenty-second, stood into the bay, where he found seventeen large ships, and eight gallees riding near the town. These, he bravely attacked, but, for want of proper orders, and due assistance, the Spanish ships were suffered to retreat to Port-Real, whither the lord-marshal did not think fit to follow them. A multitude of troops then disembarked, and took the fort of Puntal, after which success, an attempt was made against the town. The soldiers, having discovered a quantity of wine, continued to drink of it until they became intoxicated, and so unfit for service, that if the enemy had vigilantly availed themselves of this advantage, all their assailants might have perished by the sword. Alarmed at this incident, the officers endeavoured to reembark their men, and when all had been conveyed on board, it was determined to cruize off Cape Saint Vincent, for the purpose of intercepting the plate-fleet.

At this juncture, the majority of the troops were seized with sickness, and in consequence of the most extraordinary, and pernicious order that could possibly have been issued, two of the violently distempered persons

(q) See Sir William Monson's naval Tracts. Book 2.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, p. 110.

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sons were, under the pretence of being carefully attended, put on board of each ship, where the infection spread to so inveterate a degree, that scarcely a sufficient number of hands survived to navigate the fleet to England. In the month of December, these unfortunate adventurers returned, with that accumulated disgrace which was foreseen, and foretold, previous to their departure from their own country (*r*). Not long after they had landed, a charge was exhibited against the general, by the earl of Essex, and nine other officers of distinction, when the lord Wimbleton attempted to exculpate himself, in a long answer. These memorials are yet remaining, and serve only to demonstrate that a want of experience, and unanimity had proved the ruin of the expedition (*s*). Such Proceedings increased the popular discontents, exposed the duke to greater odium, and lessened the reputation of the naval force of England; an event which quickly produced, as, under like circumstances, will always be the case, a train of inconveniencies.

The next naval transaction which demands our notice hath been related by an officer who was present; and it is from his manuscript that we lay it, without any material alteration, before the reader.

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(*r*) See the several accounts of this voyage in the works of the authors already cited.

(*s*) This charge and the answer are printed in the works of lord Lansdowne, V. 2. p. 197. Edit. 1736. 12mo. The reader who shall compare these with the reflections of Sir William Monson on the conduct of Wimbleton, will discern that this lord is severely, and unjustly treated. Sir William arraigns him for calling councils, when he should have been acting; the officers accusing him for having neglected to call councils, and also acting without applying for advice. It appears that he had no idea of naval service, and that his officers were unwilling to obey him.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 111, 112.

On the seventh of October, in the year, one thousand, six hundred, and twenty-five, and about four in the morning, the *Passgrave*, *Dolphin*, and *Lion* anchored three leagues to the southward of Surat Bar. At day-break, the mariners within the top descried vessels riding at the mouth of Surat river. These were, by some, supposed to be either English, or Hollanders; but others affirmed that they were a fleet of frigates. In an hour afterwards, they set sail, steering full towards us, when we discovered, by their colours, that they were in the service of Portugal. They were in number nineteen, being four galleons, and fifteen frigates, which, as the wind was unfavourable, could not yet reach us, but cast anchor at the distance of a league. Our captain, perceiving their design, made the signal for a consultation, and the master of each ship immediately repaired on board.

At this meeting (as it was afterwards reported by our commander, Mr. Richard Swanley) captain Blith remarked that it was expedient to set sail, and stand off again to sea, and thus deprive the frigates of an advantage. He added that if it should appear that our ships sailed faster than the Portuguese, we must, instantly, direct our course towards Ormus; a proceeding for which he advanced the following reasons.

First, because he doubted whether the enemy had a large number of vessels, in Swalley-Road.

Secondly, because he feared that our merchants were not yet on terms of amity with the natives; a conjecture which he had too much reason to form, as he had received authentic intelligence that the preparations of the *Dolphin*, for her return to England had given general disgust.

Thirdly, he was not well assured that the Portuguese had either made peace with the Gazurats, or planted ord-

ordnance on the shore adjoining to the Swalley-Sands. He remained also in doubt concerning the fate of the Squadron, commanded by captain Weddel, since he was confident that if, at that juncture, any English, or Dutch vessels were at anchor in the Swalley-Road, they would not suffer the Portuguese to ride there. These adversaries had directed their hostilities against them, during the course of the preceding year; and he now supposed that the Dutch and English had either gained some decisive advantage, or wanting ammunition, had proceeded for succour to the castle of Ormus, where they intended to remain until the necessary supplies arrived from England.

The signal was now made for sailing, and, with the wind at North, our ships stood out to sea. At four, in the afternoon, the Portuguese admiral, and the vice-admiral-ship, being a faster sailer than the rest, approached the Lion, which was the headmost vessel of our fleet. The admiral discharged at her one piece of ordnance, which was returned by four shot, that did not reach a sufficient distance, but dropped, useless, into the water. The two ships belonging to the enemy kept up, during the space of half an hour, an incessant fire against the Lion, at the expiration of which time, she had received several shot, both in her hull and rigging. The master, Richard Swanley, perceiving that the ordnance of the Portuguese did more execution than his own, bore down so closely upon his Adversaries that they were obliged to have recourse to musquets; and it was during this mode of engaging, which continued until sun-set, that neither the Lion, nor her crew were the least injured.

It must be remarked that for this space of time, and even an hour afterwards, the other two adverse

ships were at least a league astern ; whilst the *Palsgrave*, and the *Dolphin*, being right ahead, kept on their course, and sometimes, discharged pieces from their gun-room ports. The enemy observing that they still stood away, came close along side of the *Lion*, when an hundred men, having fire-pots, and other Instruments of destruction in their hands, leaped on board, and threw them on the decks. At the same time, we were surrounded by several of the frigates, which stuck Fire-pikes in the sides of our ship, all of which we fortunately, extinguished. Our admiral, and vice-admiral, in the *Palsgrave*, and *Dolphin*, were quickly out of sight ; the cause of which proceeding is best known unto themselves.

The engagement continued from eight at night, until the hour of eleven, during which space of time, Richard Swanley, our master, and four of the crew were slain. Twenty-three persons, amongst whom must be included two of the master's mates were exceedingly burnt, and all the rest, lamenting over the desertion of the *Palsgrave*, and the *Dolphin*, appeared driven to despair. At this alarming crisis, the word was given to blow up the ship, when, fortunately, some of the crew let fall the anchor, and, in the same moment, the tide running extremely strong, the grappling irons which had been fixed to our ship, by the Portuguese gave way ; and thus we, for the present, were delivered from destruction. Fifty of the enemy were still left upon our poops ; and as these persisted, with great fury to attack us, we were obliged to blow them up. During the explosion, the stern of our ship, from the middle deck upwards, was torn in pieces.

When the Portuguese were effectually repulsed, and the flames extinguished, we used all diligence in order

order to clear our ship, and fix the main-topfail-yard, which then lay upon the deck. Having succeeded in this attempt, and also hoisted new sails to supply the place of the former which had been consumed by fire, we waited, in painful expectation that, at the next tide, our adversaries would return to the attack. Concluding that the *Lion* would either have burnt to the water's-edge, or have sunk in the bottom of the ocean, the Portuguese, after having left five frigates at a considerable distance from us, gave chase, with four ships, to the *Palsgrave*, and the *Dolphin*. In a short space of time, they intercepted, and engaged them, during the succeeding night. At day-break, the contending ships were not in sight of us.

On the morning of the eighth day, and when it was still impossible to descry the *Palsgrave*, and the *Dolphin*, the officers of our ship agreed that Henry Crosbey, the first mate, under the late master, should assume the chief command, until she might have the good fortune to meet with captain Blithe. As the crew were too feeble to assist in heaving up the anchor, orders were given to cut the cables, and, shortly afterwards, although with difficulty, as much sail was set as the *Lion* could well bear, her fore-mast being considerably damaged by the shot fired from the artillery of the Portuguese. In this distressful situation, we stood out to sea.

Four of the frigates now directed their course towards the fleet, and the fifth bore away nearer to the land. All this day, we heard the report of cannon, but could not discern any of the contending ships. At night, we perceived the flashes which accompanied their frequent firings, from our top-mast-head; but as our vessels were to windward, we could not reach them. Perhaps, such an endeavour, under

any circumstances, must have proved ineffectual, as the *Lion* was greatly shattered, and all our chief men had been either killed, or severely wounded.

On the morning of the ninth, and when we could neither observe the ships, nor hear the discharge of their artillery, our master judged it expedient that, in pursuance of the consultation holden on board the *Palgrave*, two days before, we should stand for Ormus. Thither, the weather being favourable, we steered immediately; and, during the passage, our carpenter refitted the stern of the vessel, and several of the men recovered of their wounds.

On the fourth of November, we arrived at Gombroon, and received intelligence from our merchants that the admiral *Rufero* was stationed, with eighteen frigates, near the isle of Ormus. To prepare against the dangers which might ensue, the master directed the mariners to ease the ship of a considerable part of her burthen, in order that she might mount her lower tier of guns. The bales of cloth, the boxes of coral, and three chests of money were immediately sent ashore, and secured within the warehouses. Several valuable articles were detained within the ship, in consequence of directions from the master, who observed that if any unfortunate event should oblige him to quit the port, some treasure would be left for the purpose of buying provisions, and other necessaries for the crew. On the fifth day, the merchants, and the purser waited on the sultan, from whom they obtained an order that we should be supplied with boats, and that our casks should be replenished with water, of which last article we, on the seventh of November, procured an ample quantity.

On the day following, and at the first appearance of the morning, *Rufero*, with his frigates rowed towards

wards the Lion. As the weather was extremely calm, it was impossible to work her, and she was so stationed, that only her stern-chasers could play upon the frigates. These, however, were discharged in so successful, and unerring a direction, that two of their frigates were sunk before their crews could board the Lion, and two more shared the same fate, soon after they had dropped along-side of her. The Portuguese who had leaped on board the ship, began a furious attack, with a general discharge of small arms, and, immediately, threw around such quantities of fireworks, that, in a moment, the masts, sails, and upper-deck of the Lion were in flames, and in less than half an hour fell down upon the combatants. The confusion of the English, who saw death on every side, is not to be described. Some leaped over-board, and trusted to the mercy of their enemies; but the rest set fire to the powder-room, and blew up the ship. The men who jumped into the ocean were all taken by the boats belonging to the frigates, and carried to the isle of Ormus. On the following morning, Rufero gave orders that the heads of all the prisoners, excepting Thomas Winterburne, should be cut off. This person received his life, and liberty, that he might convey a letter from Rufero, to the merchants at Gombroon. The number of the English who were instantly executed upon the spot, amounted to twenty-six. Forty-two, blown up in the ship, which afterwards was driven ashore, were buried at Gombroon; and nine escaped, having been employed, at land, in managing the business of the Persia company.

We now proceed to inform the reader that even at the period when the popular murmurs excited by the miscarriage of the enterprize against Cadiz had not subsided, the duke of Buckingham fell into a second

error, whilst, he enjoyed the office of lord high-admiral of England. He was equally concerned, and incensed by reiterated complaints that the merchant-ships had been delivered to the French, and employed against Rochelle (*t*). He, therefore, took occasion, at the close of the year, one thousand six hundred, and twenty-six, to cause the seizure of a French ship, named the Saint Peter, and belonging to the port of Havre. The pretence was that her cargo consisted of Spanish effects; a circumstance which the French positively denied, affirming, at the same time, that all the goods within the ship were the property of either their own merchants or those of England, and Holland (*u*). In consequence of this measure, commissioners were appointed to investigate the circumstances which related to it; and when they had resolved that the capture was illegal, the ship, pursuant to a proper order, was, at length, released; but not before the king of France had made some reprisals; an event which irritated the nation, and gave rise to one article in the impeachment of the duke of Buckingham (*x*). The point was, notwithstanding, compromised between the two sovereigns, and the good

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(*t*) Sir Philip Warwick accounts for this distaste conceived by the duke against the French. He observes that Cardinal Richlieu duped both the Dutch, and English, by pretending to execute a very feasible scheme for the purpose of preventing the Spaniards from sending any supplies into Germany. It was under this plea, that he procured the ships of the former, and then employed them against the Rochellers.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 112.

(*u*) Kennet's compleat history of England, V. 3. p. 28.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 112.

(*x*) It is the fifth article of the impeachment. The Duke, in his answer, drawn up by Sir Nicholas Hyde, justifies himself very plausibly.

correspondence of their subjects restored for a considerable space of time; yet, at the bottom, this reconciliation was far from being cordial; and soon the quarrel, like a wound ill-cured, broke out with more alarming symptoms (y).

The war in which the king had engaged, in order that he might procure the restitution of the palatinate to his brother-in-law, had drawn him into a league with Denmark, which obliged him to send a squadron of ships to the assistance of the sovereign of that country. As the first succours had proved of little service, Charles was called upon for additional supplies. At this period, the parliaments were averse from a compliance with his demands, because he refused to banish from his presence the duke of Buckingham. Their reluctance in facilitating his views compelled him to recur to such measures as, in the opinion of his lawyers, were strictly justifiable. Amongst various expedients, he obliged all the sea-ports to furnish him with ships. From the city of London, he demanded twenty, and required a proportionable contribution from other places.

This proceeding was regarded by the inhabitants as an intolerable grievance, and multitudes, who had no immediate dependance on commerce, deserted their residence within the maritime towns, and retired to the inland districts of the country. Their conduct rendered the burthen of those who stayed behind still more oppressive; and the result of their remonstrances was a proclamation requiring those individuals who had quitted the sea-coast, to return instantly to their former dwellings. Such was the misguided policy which

(y) Rushworth, Frankland, Baker, Echard, Rapin.—
Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 112, 113.

which led to the first disturbances of this unhappy reign (x). They were quickly increased by the rash management of Buckingham, who, at the time when he perceived his sovereign embarrassed by wars which had already been declared, involved him, not less absurdly, than precipitately, in a rupture with the court of France.

The foreign servants of the queen, attached, with a degree of bigotry, to the Catholic religion, had not only proceeded to unwarrantable lengths for the propagation of their faith, but prevailed on their royal mistress to embrace measures which were at once culpable, and ridiculous. On the first of July, in the year, one thousand, six hundred, and twenty-six, Charles, yielding to the persuasions of Buckingham, dismissed the foreign domestics of the queen, and immediately sent the lord Carleton, invested with the rank of ambassador, to Paris, that he might acquaint Lewis with the reasons of so abrupt a measure (a). That monarch refused to grant him audience, and eager to give proofs of his resentment, issued orders for the immediate seizure of one hundred, and twenty English ships, which were then riding at anchor within his harbours. He also turned his arms against Rochelle, notwithstanding that he had listened, not long before, to the overtures of Charles, who had interposed as a mediator between Lewis, and his Protestant sub-

(x) Kennet, V. 3. p. 28.—Frankland's Annals, p. 206, 207.—Whitlocke, p. 78.—Rushworth's Collections, V. 1. p. 415, 416.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 113.

(a) Hammond L'Estrange's History of Charles, the first, p. 58, 59.—Bulstrode's Memoirs, p. 31.—Memoirs of the Duke of Rohan, Book 4. p. 129, 130.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 114.

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subjects (b). These last now applied to the king of England, who directed that a fleet, consisting of thirty sail, should immediately be equipped, for their relief. The command of this naval armament was given to the earl of Denbigh, who, not departing until the month of October, found it impracticable to execute his commission; and, therefore, after having continued, during some time, at sea, exposed to tempestuous weather, he returned, attended by all the ships, into the harbour. This event not only frustrated the view of Charles, but cast a blemish on his honour. The inhabitants of Rochelle suspected the sincerity of his intentions, and doubted whether he had seriously proposed, at any time, to furnish them with succours (c).

The Duke of Buckingham, determined to leave the point beyond dispute, assembled a formidable fleet, and levied a body of troops, amounting to seven thousand men, in the summer of the succeeding year. With these, as admiral, and commander in chief, he sailed, from Portsmouth, on the twenty-seventh of June, and disembarked on the isle of Rhee. He had, at first, resolved to make a descent on Oleron, and even promised the Duke of Soubize that it should be a leading object of his enterprize. It was this nobleman who proceeded early to Rochelle, and informed the inhabitants that the English fleet, and army, were hastening to

(b) Dupleix Histoire de Louis le Juste, p. 298.—Le Gendre. Histoire de France, Tom. 5. p. 174.—Aubrey. Histoire du Cardinal Duc de Richlieu, Paris, 1660. fol. 54. 2. chap. 11.—Rushworth, V. 1. p. 424.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 114.

(c) Kennet, V. 3. p. 29.—L'Estrange's History of Charles, the first, p. 62, 63.—Frankland's Annals.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 114.

to their relief. They received this news with more indifference, than satisfaction. Multitudes had been corrupted by bribes from the king of France; and others had conceived such terrifying ideas of his power, that they were at a loss whether they should resolve to join those approaching succours which they had earnestly demanded (*d*).

The Duke landed his troops, on the thirty-first of July, yet not without a violent opposition from De Toyras, the French governour, whom he forced to retire, although with some loss. On this occasion, the English fell into a train of errors, almost similar to those which they had committed during the expedition against Cadiz. The fort of La Pré, which covered the landing-place, they shamefully neglected, notwithstanding that the French themselves had left it, in the alarm of fear, exposed to adversaries who might have taken it, without resistance. Of such consequence was the place, that if it had fallen into the hands of the English, they might have prevented the French from introducing supplies. We learn that, at first, the court of Paris became exceedingly alarmed, and even Lewis sickened with concern; but their terrors were much diminished, when they heard that Buckingham, a mean proficient either in the naval, or the military arts, was too proud to take the counsels of those who understood them better.

Having speedily reduced the town of Saint Martin, the commander in chief prepared to invest the citadel;

(*d*) Rushworth's Collections, V. 1. p. 426.—Memoirs of the Duke of Rohan, book 4. p. 132.—Sir Richard Grenville's journal of the expedition to the isle of Rhee, in the year, one thousand, six hundred, and twenty-seven.—Lord Lansdowne's Works, V. 3. p. 246.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 114, 115.

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del; and soon afforded glaring proofs that he was unequal to the management of a siege. At first, he quartered his troops around the place, without forming an intrenchment, to which he afterwards was under the necessity of recurring. He, next, entered into conferences with the governour, and refused to communicate the substance of them to his officers; thus discouraging the troops, and enabling the French to deceive him by a fictitious treaty; whilst, during the pretended negociations for its accomplishment, the fort received a considerable supply. The Rochellers now declared for the English; a confidence not less untimely with regard to themselves, than their former suspicion of their allies. Their proceedings, added to the expectation of succours from England, which were to be sent to him, under the command of the earl of Holland, engaged Buckingham to remain so long within his camp, that his troops were much diminished.

At length, on the sixth of November, he made a general assault, when it appeared that the place was impregnable; at least, to forces in the situation of the English. Two days afterwards, he resolved upon a retreat, which was as ill conducted as the rest of the expedition. It was made, in the sight of an enemy as powerful with regard to infantry, and more numerous in cavalry, than his own army, over a narrow causeway, surrounded on each side, by salt-pits; yet no precaution was taken either by erecting a fort, or even by throwing up an intrenchment to cover the entrance of the passage. So fatal were the consequences of this error, that numbers, exposed to the artillery, and small arms of the enemy, unfortunately perished. The most authentic accounts inform us that amongst these were fifty officers, of different ranks,

ranks, two thousand common soldiers, and twenty-five volunteers of distinguished quality. With equal shame, and loss, therefore, the duke concluded this inglorious expedition, and, on the ninth of the same month, embarked his forces, after having solemnly assured the inhabitants of Rochelle, that he would return to their relief; a promise which he did not live to execute. To compleat his misfortune, as he entered Plymouth harbour, he met the earl of Holland, sailing out with the promised succours. This lord, and all his forces, immediately returned. In whatsoever light we view the expedition to Rochelle, whether with regard to its immediate effects, or to its future consequences, we must allow that of all others, at this particular period, it was the most fatal, and disgraceful. To the king, it proved extensively prejudicial, whilst it accelerated the ruin of the duke of Buckingham. As their ships had been impressed, the merchants were discouraged from carrying on their commerce; and so inadequate was the money within the treasury to the discharge of wages demanded by the seamen, that they flocked in multitudes to Whitehall, and disturbed the sovereign with their clamours (c).

To remedy these evils, a parliament was assembled, at the commencement of the year, one thousand, six hundred, and twenty-eight; but, as the sole business of the sessions was confined to disputes between the monarch, and the commons, it was, at length, prorogued, without a grant of the supplies. In spite of these afflictions

(c) Kennet, V. 3. p. 38, 39, 40.—Whitlocke, p. 9.—L'Estrange's history of Charles the first, p. 68, 69, 70, 71.—Sir Philip Warwick's Memoirs, p. 24, 25, 26, 27, 28.—Sir Richard Bulstrode's Memoirs.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 115, 116, 117.

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After his disappointments, Charles exerted his power to the utmost, and prepared a naval force, in order to fulfil the promises which the Duke of Buckingham had made to the inhabitants of Rochelle. With this view, a fleet of fifty sail was assembled, in the spring, when a large body of mariners embarked. The command of the whole armament was given, through the interest of Buckingham, to his brother-in-law, the earl of Denbigh, who sailed from England, on the seventeenth of April, and anchored in the road of Rochelle, on the first of May. At his arrival, he discovered twenty sail of French ships, riding in the harbour; and being much superiour in number, and strength, he sent advice, into the town, that he would sink those vessels as soon as the wind veered to the west, and made a higher flood. On the eighth of May, the wind, and tide served accordingly, and the Rochellers expected, and solicited that deliverance. But the earl, without remembering his promise, or embracing the opportunity, weighed anchor, and sailed away, suffering four of the French ships to chase his fleet, which arrived at Plymouth, on the twenty-sixth of May (f).

This second disgraceful expedition was felt by the deluded inhabitants of Rochelle, whilst the English beheld with equal fear, and jealousy, the rapid, and successful progress of a Roman-Catholic faction in the court. One Le Brun, a Frenchman, but a captain in the fleet serving under the earl of Denbigh, gave in, on the sixteenth of May, before the mayor of Plymouth, depositions which argued treachery, or apparent cowardice, during the management of the late enterprise. This account was certified by that magistrate, and two burgeses of the town, in parliament, by whom

(f) Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 117, 118.

whom it was communicated to the council, who addressed to the duke of Buckingham, as lord high-admiral of England, a letter, dated on the thirtieth of May, in the year, one thousand, six hundred, and twenty-eight, to signify his majesty's pleasure that the earl of Denbigh should return to the relief of Rochelle, with the fleet under his charge, and with other ships, prepared at Portsmouth, and at Plymouth. Yet, notwithstanding the order, no fleet returned, neither were any inquiries made concerning the occasion of so singular a disobedience (g).

In spite of these repeated miscarriages, such appeared the national indignation, and complaints, and so earnest were the supplications of the Rochellers, that it was deemed absolutely necessary to equip a third fleet, for the relief of their city, which, in consequence of a close siege, was now reduced to the last extremity. The duke of Buckingham chose to command this armament, in person, and, therefore, repaired immediately to Portsmouth. On the twenty-third of August, having breakfasted with Soubize, and the general officers, he rose, and drew nearer to the door. Whilst he advanced, and conversed with Sir Thomas Frier, one Felton, (late a lieutenant of a regiment of foot, under Sir John Ramsay,) placed himself in the entry, and reaching his arm over the shoulder of Sir Thomas, thrust a knife into the heart of Buckingham, who, immediately extracted this instrument of death, with his own hand, and having uttered the words "the Villain hath killed me," fell down, and expired on the spot. Felton slipped away, and might have escaped undiscovered,

(g) Kenner, V. 3. p. 48.—Memoirs of the Duke of Rohan, p. 171.—Whitlocke, p. 10.—Frankland's Annals. Rushworth's Collections, V. 1. p. 586, 587.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 118.

vered, but that either his conscience, or his insolence betrayed him. Whilst the general rumour prevailed that the murderer must be a Frenchman, and several began to suspect that Soubize was a party concerned in it, Felton stepped forward, and exclaimed, "I am the man who did the deed; let no person suffer that is innocent." He had no sooner made this confession, than he was apprehended, and conveyed a prisoner to London (A).

Whatsoever might have been the feeling of Charles, when he was informed of the death of Buckingham, it is certain that his eagerness for the renewal of the enterprize, in favour of the inhabitants of Rochelle, appeared more augmented, than diminished. On the day following, the king appointed the earl of Lindsay, admiral, and Monson, and Mountjoy, vice, and rear-admirals. We learn, from an illustrious writer (i), that the care, and presence of Charles had so happy an effect in facilitating the preparations for the voyage, that more expedition was used in the course of ten days, than during several of the preceding weeks. This circumstance is an incontestable proof of two facts, concerning which several of our historians have expressed their doubts; and these are, first, that the king was sincere, and zealous in his views; and, secondly, that the Rochellers were convinced of the rectitude of his intentions. The enterprize was, notwithstanding, as unfortunate as the former. The earl

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(A) Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 119.

(i) Duke of Rohan's Memoirs, p. 188.—At this period, his brother, the duke of Soubize, was in England, and on the spot; consequently, he must have been an eye-witness of the great preparations made, as well as of the unusual diligence exerted on this occasion.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 119.

of Lindsay departed, with the armament, from England, on the eighth of September, in the year, one thousand, six hundred, and twenty-eight, and arriving before Rochelle, discovered that a mole, which was full a mile in extent, had been thrown across the harbour, and that the city was closely blockaded on every side. He made several ineffectual attempts to force a passage into the harbour; and, at last, on the eighteenth of October, the inhabitants, who had long languished under the severities of famine, were glad to accept of terms from their own prince, and actually surrendered. At this juncture, the English were at hand, yet unable to assist them; and to render their reduction still more afflicting, in the night, after the city had been delivered up, the sea made a breach sufficiently wide to have given entrance to the largest vessel in the British fleet (*k*). With this expedition, ended the operations of the war against France; yet a peace was not concluded, until the succeeding year (*l*).

We

(*k*) Frankland's Annals, p. 338.—Kennet, V. 3. p. 49.—Rushworth, V. 1. p. 635.—L'Estrange's History of Charles the first, V. 1. p. 93.—Memoirs of the Duke of Rohan, p. 190.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 119, 120.

(*l*) Kymer's Fœdera, V. 19. p. 66—86.—In Rushworth's collections, under the year, one thousand, six hundred, and twenty-nine, and at the fourth page, the reader will find a long, and pathetic letter, addressed, by the duke of Rohan, to the king, and imploring his farther aid on the behalf of the reformed churches in France, prior to the treaty of peace; but Charles (as he informed that nobleman in his answer,) having been constrained to dissolve the parliament, from whom he expected supplies, recommended that (since he was incapable of assisting them,) they should make the most advantageous terms in their power, with the court of France.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 120.

We now enter on the relation of an engagement between six English frigates, under the command of Sir Kenelm Digby, and two Venetian galleasses, two galleons of the same nation, and several French ships. As the writer (*m*) is rather singular in his descriptions, we shall present them to the reader, from his own words.

" Sir Kenelm Digby, being authorized by his majesty's special commission, under the great seal of England, for a design against the French, then his majesty's enemies, (the period of which design pointed at those parts,) with six ships, of which his own went admiral, after many encounters by the way, came, on the tenth of June, in the year, one thousand, six hundred, and twenty-eight, before Cape Conjure, where he lay at hull, fair all that night. The cape is about ten miles from Scanderoon; whence, on the morrow, in the afternoon, he sent his boat, well armed, to descry the road, and to bring him some intelligence. This the men did, the next morning, having met with some Venetian boats that were fishing, with which Venetians, they passed for Maltese; for, there were in Sir Kenelm's boat, Maltese, and Greeks. They brought word that there were at anchor, in the road, two Venetian galleasses, two other galleons, two English ships, and four French vessels, one of which came in the day before, being very rich, and having as yet unladen nothing. Sir Kenelm spent all the following night, in overseeing the preparations for fight, and firing in his several ships, for that he expected a fierce onset, the next day, from the Venetians, who had declared themselves the guarders of that road, and were reported to have given out that they would

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" sink

(*m*) Sir Peter Wyche's dispatches.

“ sink all the English men of war which they should
 “ meet, either in their own, or in the Grand Signior’s
 “ seas. Which peremptoriness, if true, including an
 “ intent of dishonour to the nation, could not but
 “ exasperate any true English spirit, especially of the
 “ nobler sort. This moved not yet Sir Kenelm to any
 “ violence of passion, but that with a careful tem-
 “ per, and discreet judgment, he prepared himself, and
 “ fitted his ships, at all points, for all occasions.”

“ And here, although it be a digression, since it may
 “ be worth an observation, (especially with the cu-
 “ rious,) let me insert a report of his own, with a pre-
 “ face of his protestation, that he was neither so sim-
 “ ple, or superstitious, as vainly to build a faith upon
 “ any way of divination, such as the *Sortes Virgilianæ*,
 “ which the ancients much relied upon, and of which
 “ the Roman histories have many strange examples,
 “ that make them seem no less than oracles. Yet,
 “ thus it happened to Sir Kenelm, that being wearied
 “ with cares, and desirous to sleep upon the poop, un-
 “ til the wind might serve to bring them in, amongst
 “ other cogitations, the remembrance of these *Sortes*
 “ intermixed itself; and, by accident, one that was
 “ near him was reading Virgil, which Sir Kenelm tak-
 “ ing, having first conceived the chance of a number,
 “ for the verse which he should take, upon that leaf
 “ where he opened the book, these two following pre-
 “ sented themselves :

*Æneas, celsa in Puppi jam certus eundi,
 Carpebat Somnos, Rebus jam rite paratis.*

“ Which falling out to fit to the present circum-
 “ stances, and the relations which they had to the
 “ Trojan’s ensuing fortunes, was received betwixt
 “ jest

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“jest and earnest, for a very good omen, and became
 “the instrument of an encouragement, by being made
 “the conclusion of a short speech to his men; for it
 “seemed to confirm their resolutions, and prevent the
 “disturbance of them, by any dispute that might
 “arise concerning the justness of Sir Kenelm’s design,
 “and proceedings (n).”

“But his judgment took another course for the
 “strengthening of his cause, and that the justice of it
 “might the better command the attendance of suc-
 “cess, (respecting, notwithstanding, his honour, be-
 “fore any public safety, which might tend to disre-
 “putation,) he sent a previous message to the Venetian
 “general, (the galleasses having weighed anchor, and
 “being come within half a league of his ships,) in-
 “forming him that his voyage of warfare was by his
 “majesty’s commission, and giving him assurance of
 “all respect, and friendship, and that the French
 “were the only objects of his attempt, for which he
 “had a sufficient warrant. To the two English ships
 “he likewise sent letters, to settle the disquiet which
 “he conceived their fears had put them in, and to give

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“them

(n) A similar circumstance is related in Welwood’s me-
 moirs concerning Charles, the first, and the lord Falkland,
 who both tried the Sortes Virgilianæ. Being obliged to
 write this note from memory, I cannot insert the striking
 passage which is mentioned to have presented itself to Falk-
 land. The lines on which the king dipped are these:

“Hæc Finis Priami Fatorum, hic exitus illum
 “Sorte tulit, Trojam incensam, et prolapsa videntem
 “Pergama tot quondam populis, terrisque superbum
 “Regnatorem Asiæ; jacet ingens Littore Truncus,
 “Avulsumque Humeris Caput, et sine Nomine Corpus.”

The little faith which we can place on these relations will
 not incline us to impose on the credulity of the reader.

“ them satisfaction that his business was no way to
“ disturb their negotiations. But before Sir Kenelm’s
“ messengers could return on board to deliver the an-
“ swer, the admiral-galleas of the Venetians discharged
“ seven, or eight shot, the first of which, alighting
“ short, was received as a salute, and accordingly re-
“ turned by the discharge of a piece of ordnance ;
“ but some of the rest hitting his ship, and one shot
“ his flag, together with the arrival, and informa-
“ tion of the messenger, rendered the designs of the
“ Venetians more known. Sir Kenelm, to convince
“ them that his long forbearance was no apprehension
“ of the fear which he had of their strength, and ad-
“ vantage, but a strengthening of the justice of his
“ cause, gave them three, or four broadsides, in a
“ very short space of time, which did so much spoil,
“ both to the French, and the Venetians, (who found
“ pretence, by this time, that their quarrel was the
“ protection of the French, which they had underta-
“ ken,) that they were forced to retire, and fight at a
“ more wary distance. In the mean time, Sir
“ Kenelm played so well upon their galleons, that the
“ men stowed themselves under the hold, and left the
“ vessels to their fortune, without any guidance.
“ The Galeasses, then coming up to their succour, re-
“ ceived such a rude welcome that they rode away to
“ shelter themselves under the English ships that lay in
“ the road ; which policy was a sure defence to them,
“ for, Sir Kenelm was so cautious that he would rather
“ lose an opportunity of offending his enemies, than
“ take hold of it, to the offence of his countrymen.
“ The Galeasses thus leaving the action to be witnesses
“ of it only at that safe distance, the galleons were
“ in great danger, their men being stowed under
“ Hatches ; but that Sir Kenelm, directing all his en-
“ deavours

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“ deavours against the French, from whom he had received the most damage, gave way to their quiet, without much disturbance, more than what proceeded from their own fears, and perceiving the French to come up close, their ships being burly vessels, some having six and twenty pieces of ordnance, he first directed his two lesser ships to deal with them, but quickly taking notice of the advantage, sent the rear-admiral to their succour, by which means the three ships boarded and took each of them a several prize, the fourth French ship being run aground at the beginning of the fight, to which this success gave an end, after three hours.”

“ It is remarkable that, in this fight, not one of Sir Kenelm’s men received a hurt to death; and of the Venetians, and French, there were slain ninety nine persons, of whom one was commander of the Venetian land-forces, a brave, and generous man, whose loss was much lamented by them, and pitied by Sir Kenelm. The admiral-galleas of the Venetians was the only one of those four which the Venetians lent to the king of Spain, that returned from the battle of the year, one thousand, five hundred, and eighty-eight, where he fought with Sir Martin Frobisher, in the Triumph, belonging to queen Elizabeth, whilst the other three were sunk, or fired, since when she hath been preserved, by putting in of new pieces where need required, (as they say the Athenians did by the galley of Salamines,) so that now nothing of her was remaining of those times but the mould.”

“ This action, and success of Sir Kenelm’s, although perhaps clear in itself, became questionable by the Ministers of the Grand Signior, through the complaints of the French and Venetians, so that the Ba-

" shaw of Aleppo, and the Cadi of Scanderoon took hold
 " of the occasion to practice, and exact a fine from
 " the English merchants, taking also from the English
 " consul, at Aleppo, a large sum, which he, through
 " fear of the retention of any ship, delivered, with-
 " out much resistance, and so appeased, and calmed
 " that ruggedness which, notwithstanding, proved af-
 " terwards an aggravation in other causes."

" For, shortly afterwards, one William Bundock,
 " captain of an English ship, called the Safe-Bonaven-
 " ture, having lain some time at Zant, and within
 " the harbour, went out to sea, for purchase, and fell
 " upon a ship trading betwixt Messina and Malta, that
 " belonged to Haggi Cassum, Cosmo Orlando, and
 " other subjects of the Grand Signior, and had letters of
 " safe conduct from the Imperial Port. Of this ship,
 " captain Bundock made a prize, and a complaint ar-
 " rived at the port, to a sudden disturbance of Sir
 " Peter Wyche, the English ambassador there residing.
 " This complaint made the more noise, for that the
 " Chimacham, Captain Bashaw, and other principal mi-
 " nisters, pretended themselves interested therein, hav-
 " ing committed monies to the charge of the captain
 " of the ship taken, for the redemption of Turkish
 " captives, at Messina, Malta, and other places. For
 " this particular pleading, with their aptness to make
 " any thing a cause for practices upon strangers, the
 " Vizir sent his express command for the detention
 " of two English ships, then in the Port, called, the
 " London, and the William, so to compel a restitution.
 " On this occasion, the ambassador went to the court
 " of the Grand Signior, and after much arguing, and
 " a second visit to the principal ministers, when he
 " made it appear what a disrespect it would be to his
 " majesty of England, and how unjust it would seem
 " to

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“to the world, a release was obtained for the present, but without any final determination.”

“The ambassador, in this business, made use of all fair endeavours, and policies, for the gaining of time, until his delays bringing him into some suspicion of neglect, the Janizaries a-new incensed the Vizir, by reviving it with a pretence of loss, which they received by Bundock, and procured a peremptory order that all should instantly be made good. When this order was notified to the ambassador, by a Chiaus, he sent his reply by a Druggerman. This proceeding, notwithstanding, gave no satisfaction to the passion of the Vizir, who, to insinuate himself with the Janizaries, gave way to most of their outrages, so that the ambassador to prevent his house from being assaulted, was forced to give five hundred dollars amongst the Janizaries; and thus all was calmed again, until some following accidents of this nature revived the memory of it.”

We now proceed to the relation of those afflicting circumstances in which eight men (o) who had accidentally been left at Greenland, were involved during the space of nearly nine months. Towards the middle of August, in the year, one thousand, six hundred, and thirty, the captain of these unfortunate voyagers commanded them to disembark, and endeavour to procure venison for their ship-mates. Such was their success that, during the space of two days, they killed more than twenty deer. On the morrow, they loaded their shallop, and prepared for their departure; but scarcely

(o) These were, William Fakely, a gunner; Edward Pelham, his mate; John Wise, and Robert Goodfellow, seamen; Thomas Ayres, Whale-cutter; Henry Betcooper, John Dawes, and Richard Kellet, landmen.

scarcely had they left the shore, when they discovered that the captain had stood out to sea, in order to extricate his vessel from the stupendous heap of ice which had been already driven upon the coast. They now threw their venison overboard, and hastened towards Bell-Sound, the appointed rendezvous of all the English ships, which, at that period, were engaged amidst the fisheries of Greenland. To this place, they unfortunately lost their passage; an event which must be ascribed to the obstinacy of one of their associates, who affirmed that it was situated considerably to the southward. The rest discovered the error when it was too late; and all the Greenland fleet had sailed for England.

They were now left in a country destitute of the necessaries of existence, without food, or sufficient raiment to defend themselves against the severity of the climate. At this alarming juncture, they unanimously resolved to exert their utmost endeavours for their own preservation, and to oppose, with hope, and fortitude, the baneful influence of despair. It was agreed that they should avail themselves of that favourable weather which yet lasted, and proceed to Green Harbour, for the purpose of obtaining venison to subsist on during the approaching winter. Arriving there, on the twenty-fifth of August, they repaired, at an early hour of the next morning, to Cole's Park, which was distant from the harbour nearly two leagues, and, at night, returned with seven deer, and four bears.

Emboldened by success, they visited the place again, and were so fortunate as to destroy a larger number of these animals, with all of which they came back, in safety, to the harbour. From hence, having loaded another shallop, which had been left by the English, with the boiled greaves of Whales, they departed for Bell-

Bell-Sound, where the convenience of a large tent, or shed of boards, erected for the lodging, and accommodation of the coopers, invited them to make preparations for a winter-residence. On the passage, they were benighted; and when they had run their boats a-ground, and taken the few precautions in their power to secure them, they marched into the adjacent country, for the purpose of discovering some comfortable shelter from the intense cold. At the appearance of the next morning, they returned, and observed that not only their boats were driven from the fastenings, but that the venison had been washed over-board, and was lying on the shore.

The weather of the day following (the third of September,) was so clear that they perceived their provisions, and, having collected them together, launched the boats, and rowed towards Bell-Sound, where, on their arrival, they engaged in the construction of an habitable building. The large tent (already mentioned,) was eighty feet, in length, and fifty in breadth. Within it, and out of the materials of a smaller shed, which they had levelled to the ground, they built a warm room, the exterior part of which was fenced around with boards, bricks, and lime. In length, it was twenty feet, in breadth sixteen, and in height ten. They next divided it into small cabins, the bords of which were composed of dried deer-skins. For fire-wood, they made use of empty casks, and the planks of old shallops, several of which had been left ashore by the crews belonging to the English vessels.

During the course of some months, their minds were tortured by the fears of perishing for want of food. Their provisions were insufficient to support them until the arrival of the fleet, nor did they entertain a Hope, that, in so miserable a region, any sustenance

stance could be procured. They now reduced themselves to three scanty meals, each week, on bear, and venison. Mouldy fritters, and the corrupted greaves of Whales were, at other times, their only aliment. They next felt a melancholy addition to their calamities, by the absence of the sun, which did not shine upon the country from the fourteenth of October, until the third of February. During a part of this distressful period, a faint glimmering of light might be observed daily, for an inconsiderable space of time; but, between the first, and twentieth of December, they were involved in darkness.

Towards the close of January, these desponding sufferers were revisited by returning day-light, which gleamed dimly during the space of nearly eight hours. They hastened to examine their provisions, and were alarmed to find that the whole stock was too considerably diminished to last longer than the term of six weeks. At length the weather became tolerably fair, and the creatures which were fit for food, now ventured from their coverts. Rejoiced at their appearance, the English issued from a wretched habitation, in search of sustenance. They were so fortunate as to kill seven bears, and two sea-horses. In traps, they caught fifty foxes, and thirty fowls, resembling ducks, in size, form, and plumage; and, likewise, sixty birds, as large as pigeons. On these, they fared luxuriously.

In the morning of the twenty-fifth of May, two ships belonging to the port of Hull, cast anchor in the sound. One of the commanders, who recollected that some Englishmen had been left ashore, ordered several of the crew to disembark, and walk, over the snow, to the great shed, for the humane purpose of relieving these sufferers, if they continued yet alive. They were

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were on the point of lifting up their daily prayers to the ALMIGHTY, within their chamber, when one of their associates, who was endeavouring to repair a damaged part of the exterior building, exclaimed, with transport, "our deliverers are come." Amidst the first violence of their joy, all devotion was forgotten; but at length, deeply penetrated with a sense of their felicity, they burst into tears of Gratitude, and falling on their knees, returned thanks to the GREAT FOUNTAIN OF MERCY for that which they had received.

Eager to quit the land, they repaired immediately on board one of the Hull ships, where they waited for the arrival of the London fleet, with which they afterwards returned to England, and were rewarded by the Muscovy company, in whose service they had endured such complicated misfortunes (p).

At this period, the French became ambitious of introducing within their harbours a formidable naval armament, and beheld with equal jealousy, and concern, the augmentation of the fleets of England. The proceedings of the court of Paris took their rise from the deep politics of Richlieu, the minister who had most effectually investigated the nature of the interests of each European power, and who could lead them under a subserviency to the views of France. He it was also who induced the Swedes to destroy the influence of the house of Austria, in Germany, and had the address to engage the English to assist in that design, upon the plausible pretence of affording succour

(p) M S. written by Edward Pelham, one of the sufferers.
—Collection of voyages, Folio, V. 4. p. 752.—Harris's Coll. appendix. p. 33.—Lediard's naval History, Folio. V. 2. p. 520, 521.

cour to the Protestants (g). Next, his agents in Holland alarmed the jealousy of the States concerning the dominion of the English over the narrow seas, their claim to the sole right either of fishing, and of permitting others to fish in them, and their expectation of receiving the honours of the flag, at a considerable distance from their own shores. We must remind the reader that the celebrated Hugo Grotius delivered to the world a treatise under the title of "Mare Liberum," wherein, with great eloquence, he endeavoured to expose the weakness of the English title to the sovereignty of the ocean, which he represents as a gift from God, and common to all nations (r).

On this occasion, the antagonist of Grotius was the learned Selden, who, in his "Mare Clausum (s)," hath demonstrated from the principles of the law of nature, and of nations, that a dominion over the sea may be acquired: and proved, likewise, from the most authentic passages in history, that such a dominion hath been claimed, and enjoyed by several nations, and submitted to by others for their common benefit; that this circumstance was, in fact, the case of the inhabitants of the British island, who at all times, and under every kind of government, had claimed, exercised, and constantly enjoyed such a dominion; a truth which had been frequently, and most solemnly confessed by all the neighbouring powers.

To

(g) Sir Philip Warwick's Memoirs, in which this point is fully stated.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 121.

(r) *Mare Liberum; seu de Jure quod Batavis competit ad Indica Commercia.* Lug. Bat. Elzevir. 1609. 8vo. At this period the book was reprinted.

(s) *Seu de Dominio Maris.* Lib. 2 Londini. 1635. Folio.

To the learning, industry, and judgment superior to praise, which may be discovered in the Works of this illustrious disputant, we must ascribe the establishment of that now incontrovertible position, "that the English possess an hereditary, uninterrupted right to the sovereignty of their seas, conveyed to them, from their earliest ancestors, in trust for their latest posterity (1)."

The vast, and enterprizing genius of Richlieu, at once pervading the departments of the state, gave new life to that branch of the administration which was immediately connected with the support of commerce, and the advancement of the marine. Having already availed himself of the power, and industry of the Dutch to interrupt the trade, and debilitate the maritime strength of England, he effected a negotiation between his sovereign, and the States of Holland, one leading object of which was a mutual division of the Spanish Netherlands. With equal secrecy, and security, did this sagacious minister facilitate his darling project of accomplishing the establishment of an extensive naval force in France, under the avowed pretence of assisting the Dutch in the maintenance of their claim to a joint dominion over the seas, and of enabling them to turn their commerce into a channel

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(1) Rushworth, A. D. 1636. p. 320.—Frankland's annals, p. 476.—Whitlocke.—L'Esfrange.—Mr. Campbell *, after having remarked that the book written by Selden, was published in the year, one thousand, six hundred, and thirty-four, under the royal patronage, adds that it may reasonably be inferred that Charles had formed the most just, and generous ideas concerning the naval right vested in the sovereign, and the people, notwithstanding that, for the purpose of supporting them, he unfortunately adhered to measures at once lawless, violent, and unsuccessful.

* Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 122.

as prejudicial to the English, as advantageous to themselves. All artists whatsoever who had attained to any celebrity in the maritime profession were invited, by the most liberal offers, to reside in France, and every politic, and seducing measure was resorted to for the purpose of fixing them, during the remainder of their lives, in the service of the crown.

The king of England had formed a just idea of the design conceived by Richlieu, and discerning its future consequences, endeavoured to prevent them by asserting his title to the sovereignty of the ocean, by regulating the mode of bearing flags, and by publishing proclamations, in order to restrain shipwrights, and other artificers from entering into a foreign service (*u*). If, with these political precautions, Charles had united even a moderate condescension to the temper of his subjects, by dismissing from their posts those ministers who had incurred the popular odium, either in consequence of their arbitrary principles, or their misconduct, it is certain that he would have fixed the nation, and its parliamentary representatives firmly in his interest, and, by obtaining his point, have carried the reputation of the English to heights which never were attained by any of his predecessors. But his disposition, unequal to those complying arts which make the happiest impressions on the people, prevented (in conjunction with the narrow prejudices of individuals, who yet were deemed the patriots of the time,) the full accomplishment of his laudable intentions, and converted what he designed for cordials, into corrosive poisons.

Mr.

(*u*) Kennet's compleat History of England, V. 3. p. 74.—Whitlocke's Memorials. p. 24.—Frankland's Annals, p. 471.—Sir Philip Warwick's Memoirs.—L'Estrange's Life of Charles, the first, p. 130, 131.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 121.

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Mr. Campbell, after having observed that he is far from affecting an allegorical style, adds that there are some matters of so delicate a nature, and the tempers of men, at particular seasons, are so strangely turned, that it is not expedient either for them to hear, or for the historian to write even truth too bluntly. He subjoins that it is equally dangerous for one who undertakes such a task as this, to be afraid of delivering his sentiments freely, even supposing that his fears flow from an apprehension of injuring what he thinks it his duty to recommend. Under a strong sense, therefore, of what, in one respect, it becomes him to say for the service of his country, and what, in regard to the opinion of very celebrated men, who have thought differently, he declares that he should be guilty of an impropriety, by appearing positive in his observations concerning the case of ship-money, a subject exceedingly tender in the last age, and almost equally so, at present (*).

The early apprehensions which the king had entertained of this new league between the French, and Dutch, were considerably heightened in the year, one thousand, six hundred, and thirty-five, by the junction of the fleets in the service of those powers, and the intelligence which he had received that France intended shortly to declare war against Spain; and from that circumstance, to derive the occasion so long sought for, of dividing the Netherlands with the Dutch, all whose pretensions in respect to the right of fishing, and using an unrestrained navigation in the seas, Lewis had undertaken to defend. Charles, therefore, resolved to remain no longer passive; and, in order to defeat

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this

(*) Campbell's Lives of the Admirals. Vol. 2. p. 123, 124.—The reader is desired to compare the modern histories, with those written at this period.

this measure, and support the sovereignty annexed to the English crown, and, likewise the maritime credit of the nation, conceived the design of equipping, and sending out to sea a naval armament, in force superior to that which had been assembled by his adversaries (y).

Success, on this occasion, without the assistance of the commons, appeared difficult, to an extreme; and, yet such obstacles had arisen during the preceding applications for supplies, that Charles despaired of enjoying the power to gratify his wishes, if he trusted solely to the aids which might be granted by the parliament. The lawyers whom he consulted, having investigated the nature of the case, under the due allowances for the dangers to which he was exposed, declared that he might have recourse to his prerogative. When the judges had approved of the opinion, the king directed writs to be issued for the levying of ship-money. These writs were, for the present, directed only to sea-ports, and places contiguous to the coasts, requiring them either to furnish a certain number of ships, or to grant an equivalent pecuniary supply. The city of London was directed to provide seven ships, for twenty-six days, and other towns were called upon, in proportion. In expectation that the people might submit more cheerfully to the tax, the king ordered that the pecuniary produce of it should be kept apart in the Exchequer, and that a distinct account should be given of the services to which it was applied. Yet, notwithstanding these precautions, the national clamours were at once violent,

(y) Sir William Monson's naval Tracts. p. 289.—Frankland's Annals, p. 468.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 124.

lent, and general; although insufficient to prevent the project from being carried into execution (z).

As it was probable that the neighbouring powers would be as much alarmed at the equipment of so formidable a fleet, as the people were irritated by the measures taken to defray the expence of it, a letter was, in obedience to the royal mandate, addressed from secretary Coke, to Sir William Boswell, at that period ambassador from the court of London, to the States-General of the United Provinces. As a naval writer (a) hath deemed it worthy of insertion, we, here, present it to the reader.

SIR,

"By your letters, and otherwise, I perceive many jealousies, and discourses are raised upon the preparations of his majesty's fleet, which is now in such forwardness, that we doubt not but within this month it will appear at sea. It is therefore expedient both for your satisfaction, and direction, to inform you particularly what was the occasion, and what is his majesty's intention in this work."

"First, we hold it as a principle not to be denied, that the king of Great-Britain is a monarch at land, and sea, to the full extent of his dominions, and that it concerneth him as much to maintain his sovereignty in all the British seas, as within his three kingdoms; because without that, these cannot be kept safe, nor he preserve his honour, and due respect with other nations. But, commanding the

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"seas,

(z) Kenner's Complete History of England, V. 3. p. 81.—Whitlocke, p. 22. 24.—Sir Philip Warwick's Memoirs, p. 51.—Clarendon, V. 1. p. 68.—Rushworth, V. 2. p. 334. 335.—Bulstrode's Memoirs, p. 36, 37.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 125.

(a) Mr. Campbell.

“ seas, he may cause his neighbours, and all countries, to stand upon their guard whensoever he thinks fit. And this cannot be doubted that whosoever will encroach upon him by sea, will do it by land also when they observe their time. To such presumption, “ Mare Liberum” gave the first warning piece, which must be answered with the defence of “ Mare Clausum,” not so much, by discourses, as by the louder language of a powerful navy, to be better understood whensoever strained patience seeth no hope of preserving her right by other means.”

“ The degrees by which his majesty’s dominions at sea hath of later years been first impeached, and then questioned, are as considerable, as notorious.”

“ First, to cherish, and, as it were, to nurse up our unthankful neighbours, we gave them leave to gather wealth, and strength upon our coasts, in our ports, by our trade, and by our people. Then they were glad to invite our merchants to a residence, with whatsoever privileges they could desire. Then they offered to us even the sovereignty of their estates, and then they sued for licence to fish upon the coasts, and obtained it under the great seal of Scotland, which they now suppress. And when thus, by leave, or by connivance, they had possessed themselves of our fishing, not only in Scotland, but in Ireland, and in England, and, by our staple had raised a great stock of trade, by these means, they so increased their shipping, and power, at sea, that now they endure not to be kept at any distance; nay, they are grown to that confidence, to keep guards upon our seas, and then to project an office, and company of assurance, for the advancement of trade, and withal prohibit us free commerce, even within our seas, and take our
“ ships.”

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“ ships, and goods, if we conform not to their pla-
 “ carts. What insolencies, and cruelties they have
 “ committed against us, heretofore, in Ireland, in
 “ Greenland, and in the Indies, is too well known to
 “ all the world. In all which, although our suffer-
 “ ings, and their wrongs may seem forgotten, yet,
 “ the great interest of his majesty’s honour is still
 “ the same, and will refresh their memories, as there
 “ shall be cause. For, although charity must remit
 “ wrongs done to private men, yet the reflection
 “ upon the public may make it a greater charity to
 “ do justice to crying crimes. All this notwith-
 “ standing, you are not to conceive that the work
 “ of the fleet is either revenge, or execution of
 “ justice for these great offences past, but chiefly, for
 “ the future, to stop the violent current of that pre-
 “ sumption, whereby the men of war, and free-
 “ booters of all nations, abusing the favour of his
 “ majesty’s peaceable, and gracious government,
 “ whereby he hath permitted all his friends, and al-
 “ lies to make use of his seas, and ports, in a reason-
 “ able manner, and according to his treaties, have
 “ taken upon them the boldness not only to come con-
 “ fidently, at all times, into all his ports, and rivers,
 “ but to convey their merchant-ships as high as his
 “ chief city, and then to cast anchor close upon his
 “ magazines, and to contemn the commands of his
 “ officers when they required a farther distance;
 “ but, which is more intolerable have assaulted,
 “ and taken one another, within his majesty’s channels,
 “ and within his rivers, to the scorn, and contempt
 “ of his dominion, and power; and this being, of late
 “ years, an ordinary practice, which we have endea-
 “ voured in vain to reform, by the ways of justice,
 “ and of treaties, the world, I think, will now

“be satisfied that we have reason to look about us.
“And no wise man will doubt that it is high time to
“put ourselves in this equipage upon the seas, and
“not to suffer that stage of action to be taken from us
“for want of our appearance.”

“So, you see the general ground upon which our
“counsels stand. In particular, you may take notice,
“and publish, as cause requires, that his majesty, by
“this fleet, intendeth not a rupture with any prince,
“or state, nor to infringe any point of his treaties,
“but resolveth to continue, and maintain that happy
“peace wherewith God hath blessed his kingdom;
“and to which all his actions, and negociations have
“hitherto tended, as, by your own instructions, you
“may fully understand. But withal considering that
“peace must be maintained by the arm of power,
“which only keeps down war, by keeping up domi-
“nion; his majesty, thus provoked, finds it neces-
“sary, for his own defence, and safety, to re-assume,
“and keep his ancient, and undoubted right, in the
“dominion of these seas, and to suffer no other
“prince, or state to encroach upon him, thereby as-
“suming to themselves, or their admirals, any sove-
“reign command, but to force them to perform due
“homage to his admirals, and ships, and to pay them
“acknowledgments, as in former times, they did.
“He will also set open, and protect the free trade both
“of his subjects, and Allies, and give them such safe
“conduct, and convoy as they shall reasonably re-
“quire. He will suffer no other fleets, or men of
“war, to keep guard upon these seas, or there,
“to offer any violence, or take prizes, or booties, or
“to give interruption to any lawful intercourse. In a
“word, his majesty is resolved, to do no wrong
“so to do justice, both to his subjects, and friends,
“within

"within the limits of his seas. And this is the real, and royal design of this fleet, whereof you may give part, as you find occasion, to our good neighbours in those parts, that no umbrage may be taken of any hostile act, or purpose to their prejudice, in any kind. So, wishing you all health, and happiness, I rest —

Whitehall, on the sixteenth of April, in the year, one thousand, six hundred, and thirty-five.

It is natural to imagine that less care was taken to satisfy the minds of the people in England, relative to the genuine intent of the tax, levied for the equipment of a fleet sufficiently formidable to accomplish these necessary purposes, since, otherwise the public welfare seemed to be so nearly concerned that public acquiescence, at least, might have been expected. It is notwithstanding true, that Charles, anxious to suppress the clamours of the nation, directed the lord keeper, Coventry, to remind the Judges, previous to their departure, on the summer-circuits (*b*), of the expediency of endeavouring to allay the popular fears concerning the tax of ship-money. We learn from Whitlocke, that they followed these injunctions, but without effect; yet the same author acknowledges that the money was assessed, and levied with great equality, and caution.

With the assistance of this supply, Charles, in May, of the year, one thousand, six hundred, and thirty-five, equipped two fleets, the one of forty, and the

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other

(*b*) Memorials, p. 24.—The speech of the lord keeper to the Judges may be seen in Sanderfon's history of Charles, the first, p. 204, 205, 206.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 129.

other of twenty sail. The admiral, vice-admiral, and rear-admiral of the first fleet were Robert, earl of Lindsay, Sir William Monson, and Sir John Pennington. The second fleet was commanded by the earl of Essex. With the former, Lindsay proceeded from Tilbury-Hope, on the twenty-sixth of May. His instructions were to give no Occasion of hostility, and properly to resist every act of violence which might tend to the prejudice of the naval rights invested in the sovereign, and his people. On the last day of the same month, the French, and Dutch squadrons, joined off Portland, having openly declared that it was their determination to assert their own independency, and to dispute that prerogative which the English claimed within the narrow seas; yet, no sooner were they informed that the English fleet was endeavouring to descry them, than they departed from the coast, and approached nearer to their own harbours (c).

The earl of Lindsay sent a bark towards the shores of Britany, for the purpose of observing the motions of the French, and Dutch armaments. From the period at which the bark returned, until the first of October, the English fleet protected the surrounding seas, gave laws to the neighbouring nations, and effectually asserted that sovereignty which the monarchs of this kingdom have always claimed. The fortunate operations of this marine equipment not only served to fill the minds of Foreigners with just ideas of the naval consequence of Britain, but allayed the Jealousy of the people, who now perceived that it was not the intention

(c) Letters, and dispatches of Thomas, earl of Strafford, V. 1. p. 416, 417, 429, 446.—Sir William Monson's naval Tracts, Book 2. p. 290.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 130.

tion of the crown to turn the appropriation of the tax from its declared object (*d*).

Charles, who beheld with pleasure the successes of his fleet during the course of this year, was yet sensible that if, at the commencement of the next, he should neglect to keep, upon the seas, a navy not less considerable than the former, the squadrons of the French, and Dutch, would openly insult his subjects, and endeavour to dispute, by force, their title to the dominion of the ocean. In order, therefore, to obtain supplies equal to the equipment of a formidable marine, he again directed that writs should be issued for the levying of ship-money; and, to render the aid more extensive, what had before been rated as a particular provision, to be raised by the respective ports for their own immediate safety, was now converted into a national tax, which became the more grievous, because not united with the authority of parliament. In itself, the burthen was not enormous, and, at the most, raised only two hundred, and thirty six thousand pounds, a year, which did not amount intirely to twenty thousand pounds, a month, throughout the whole kingdom; yet the making it an universal aid, and the assessing, and collecting it, according to parliamentary methods, without parliamentary authority, gave it an air of oppression, and rendered it extremely odious, notwithstanding that the necessity was generally allowed, and that the benefits resulting from the care taken of the narrow seas, which had afforded matter of inquiry, and expostulation, to every parliament

(*d*) A clear and full account of this expedition hath been written by Sir William Monson. See *Naval Tracts*, p. 289.—Campbell's *Lives of the Admirals*, V. 2. p. 131.

ment which the king called, could never be denied (c).

In order effectually to remove the doubts which might have been conceived by his own subjects, and to prevent the influence of any false surmises amongst foreign nations, relative to the design of this powerful armament, Charles deemed it necessary to signify his intentions to the world in a manner, at once the most public, and authentic; that at one, and the same time, it might appear what he himself demanded, and what had been paid in acknowledgment of the right of his ancestors, relative to points for the support of which these demands were issued. The instrument ran thus:

**A PROCLAMATION FOR RESTRAINT OF FISHING
UPON HIS MAJESTY'S SEAS, and COASTS,
WITHOUT LICENSE.**

“WHEREAS our Father, of blessed memory, king James, did, in the seventh year of his reign over Great Britain, set forth a proclamation touching fishing, whereby, for the many important reasons therein expressed, all persons, of what nation, or quality soever, (being not his natural-born subjects,) were restrained from fishing upon any of the coasts, and seas of Great Britain, Ireland, and the rest of the isles adjacent; where most usually heretofore fishing had been, until they had orderly demanded, and obtained licences from our said father, or his commissioners, in that

(c) Kenner's complete History of England, V. 3. p. 81.—Sir Philip Warwick's Memoirs, p. 51.—Frankland's Annals, p. 477.—Whitlocke, p. 24.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 131.

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that behalf, upon pain of such chastisement as should be fit to be inflicted on such wilful offenders; since which time albeit neither our said father, nor ourself have made any considerable execution of the said proclamation, but have, with much patience, expected a voluntary conformity of our neighbours, and allies, to so just, and reasonable propositions, and directions, as are contained in the same.

And, now, finding by experience, that all the inconveniencies which occasioned that proclamation, are rather increased, than abated; we, being very sensible of the premises, and well knowing how far we are obliged, in honour, to maintain the rights of our crown, especially of so great consequence, have thought it necessary by the advice of our privy-council, to renew the aforesaid restraint of fishing, upon our aforesaid coasts, and seas, without Licence first obtained from us, and by these presents to make public declaration that our resolution is, at times convenient, to keep such competent strength of shipping upon our seas, as may (through the blessing of God,) be sufficient both to hinder such farther incroachment upon our regalities, and assist, and protect those our good friends, and allies, who shall, henceforth, by virtue of our licences, (to be first obtained,) endeavour to take the benefit of fishing upon our coasts, and seas, in the places accustomed."

Given at our palace of Westminster, on the tenth day of May, and in the twelfth year of our reign of England, Scotland, and Ireland.

In the year, one thousand, six hundred, and thirty-six, the king assembled a fleet of sixty sail, under the command of the earl of Northumberland, admiral,

Sir

Sir John Pennington, vice-admiral, and Sir Henry Marcom, rear-admiral. They sailed first to the Downs, and, from thence, to the north, where the Dutch busses were fishing upon the coast. The earl required them to forbear, and not finding an immediate compliance, discharged some shot amongst their vessels. Alarmed at the violence of this proceeding, the Hollanders desired Northumberland to be their mediator with the king, and to permit them to continue fishing, during the remainder of the year, for which liberty they declared themselves content to pay the sum of thirty thousand pounds, and expressed also an inclination to obtain a grant from Charles, permitting them to fish there, for the time to come, in consideration of the payment of an annual tribute (*f*).

Such is the most authentic account which can be collected from the least partial historians relative to the causes, and consequences of this important expedition. In the journal kept, and signed by the earl of Northumberland (*g*), are several memorable particulars. On the appearance of this fleet, the Dutch fishing-busses, in number two hundred, took licences, notwithstanding that the year was far advanced. He exacted from them,

(*f*) Kenner's complete history of England, V. 3. p. 84.—Whitelocke, p. 25.—Frankland, p. 477.—Sir Philip Warwick's Memoirs, p. 117.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 134.—At this period, the king, equipped a squadron to cruize against the Saltee-pirates, who had not only disturbed the commerce of the English, but daringly attacked their vessels within sight of their own coasts. On this occasion, the men of war in the service of Charles were assisted by a fleet belonging to the emperor of Morocco. The pirates, too feeble to contend against so powerful a force, were intirely exterminated.

(*g*) This was lately preserved, and is, perhaps, still, in the paper-office.

them, as an acknowledgment, twelve pence, for each ton, and he affirmed that they departed well satisfied. It was pretended by the Hollanders, in the reign of Charles, the second, that this was an act of violence, and that no conclusions could be drawn from it, in support of the claims advanced by the crown of England, since their countrymen had not paid money, because the composition was just, but, because they were defenceless. The journal of Northumberland sets this pretence intirely aside, and proves not only that they were at first protected by a squadron of ten ships of war; but, also, that, on the twentieth of August, in the year, one thousand, six hundred, and thirty-six, Dorp, the Dutch vice-admiral, arrived with a fleet of twenty sail, and, instead of interrupting the proceedings of the English, saluted them, by lowering his top-sails, striking his flag, and firing his guns, after which ceremony, he went on board the flagship, and was received, by Northumberland, with every mark of hospitality, and respect. It is farther mentioned in the journal, that when the earl had departed from the North, and cast anchor in the Downs, he received notice that a Spanish fleet of twenty-six sail, were proceeding to the port of Dunkirk. For the purpose of reconnoitring these, he dispatched the Happy Entrance, to which single ship the whole Armada paid the testimonies of respect which were claimed by the English men of war whensoever they appeared.

It was the intention of Charles annually to have renewed this mode of levying money, and of assembling fleets, under the admirals of which he thought of placing numbers of the young nobility, in order that they might become more capable of conferring services on their country, in the hour of impending danger.

These

These views (*h*) were quickly frustrated by the clamours of the people, who expressed the most violent abhorrence of the means resorted to for the collection of the tax. In the remarkable case of Mr. Hampden, it was rendered evident that a constant, and regular, exaction of ship-money, unauthorized by parliament, must prove dangerous to the constitution, and to the freedom of the subject. At this important juncture, the king felt the necessity of relinquishing his design, yet availed himself of every prudent method to fix the popular attention on the justice of the English title to the dominion of the sea (*i*). It was at this period that Charles issued an order that a copy of *Mare Clausum*, the book written by the learned Selden, should be kept in the council-chest (*k*), that another copy should be deposited in the court of exchequer, and a third in the court of admiralty, there to remain as a perpetual evidence of our indisputable claim to the sovereignty of the surrounding ocean.

Happy (observes a naval writer (*l*),) would it have proved, if the king had, on this occasion, convened a parliament, and, after excusing the manner in which the money was levied, had shewn how well it was applied, how effectually our navigation had been protected, and all the designs of the French, and Dutch defeated. It may fairly be presumed that the salutary effect

(*h*) Sir William Monson's naval tracts, p. 299.—Warwick's memoirs, p. 53.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 135.

(*i*) Rushworth's Collections.—Frankland's Annals.—Clarendon's History.—Whitlocke's Memorials.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals.

(*k*) See the order of council, in Frankland's Annals, p. 476.

(*l*) Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 136.

effect of such an address to parliament would have appeared in a legal provision for the maintenance of these fleets; a circumstance which would have secured the commerce, whilst it established the naval reputation of the realm; but affairs took a different direction, to the extreme detriment of the state. Some courtiers gave just, and violent offence, to prudent men, by representing, in order to obtain a lucrative employment, the royal wisdom as infallible, and the regal power as irresistible; whilst others, that they might become popular, heightened every little error into a grievous crime, and magnified such irregular measures as were recurred to, through necessity, into deliberate acts of tyranny. Thus, were those nations plunged in blood, whose unanimity had rendered them rich, powerful, happy, and arbiters of the fate of Europe.

D'Estrades hath observed, in his negociations, that he was sent into England, towards the close of the year, one thousand, six hundred, and thirty-seven, with a private commission from the cardinal de Richlieu, who was anxious to prevail on Charles to embrace a neutral part, whilst the combined fleets of France, and Holland, attacked the maritime places of the Spanish Netherlands, and had the effrontery to promise him the most lucrative advantages, in reward for his inactivity. The king answered, with equal firmness, and prudence, that he could never suffer his hands to be tied up by a neutrality so prejudicial to his own honour, and the interest of his kingdoms; that he would keep a fleet in the Downs, with fifteen thousand men, ready to be transported to the relief of the first town which should be invested by the arms either of the French king, or of the States; and that as to the assistance which his eminence had offered him against any domestic disturbance, he thanked him for it; but thought

thought it quite unnecessary, since he depended intirely on his own authority, and the laws of the land, for the suppression, and punishment of such rebellious enterprizes (m).

The vindictive cardinal no sooner received the account of this conference, from his agent, than he resolved to take an immediate revenge, and dispatched, without delay, to Edinburgh, Abbé de Chamber, his almoner, whom he had instructed to encourage the covenanters, in their design, with the hopes of assistance from France, and to improve the correspondence which d'Estrades had formed amongst them during his short residence in England. This arduous commission was executed, by De Chamber, with such fidelity, and address, that the prince of Orange observed to d'Estrades, that Richlieu had employed too politic, and fortunate an instrument in Scotland, by whose practices the interests of Charles, in that kingdom, were intirely ruined (n).

Few

(m) Lettres, Memoirs, et Negociations, de Monsieur le Comte d'Estrades: a Bruxelles, 1709. 12mo. Tom. 1.—The count's letter to the cardinal, in which the king of England's answer is contained, bears date, from London, on the twenty-fourth of November, in the year, one thousand, six hundred, and thirty-seven.—Campbell's Lives of the admirals, V. 2. p. 137.

(n) Rushworth's Collections, A. D. 1638. p. 840.—Frankland's Annals, p. 768.—Whitlocke, p. 33.—Memoires de Monsieur le Comte d'Estrades, Tom 1.—The reader will find these facts fully proved, if he pleases to peruse the letter addressed by the cardinal to the count, and dated Rouel, on the second of December, in the year, one thousand, six hundred, and thirty-seven. It is an answer to the count's letter already cited. In these memorials also is a letter from d'Estrades, to Richlieu, dated Hague, on the twenty-first of January, in the year, one thousand, six hundred, and forty-one.—Sir Philip Warwick's memoirs, p.

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Few naval transactions of importance arose from this period, until the commencement of the year, one thousand, six hundred, and thirty-nine, when the Spaniards equipped a formidable fleet, consisting of sixty-seven sail of large ships, manned with twenty-five thousand seamen, and having on board twelve thousand land forces, designed for the relief of Flanders. This armament, proceeding up the channel, was interrupted, and attacked by a Dutch squadron, amounting only to seventeen men of war, commanded by Martin (the son of Herbert) Van Tromp who continued the engagement until the prevailing force of such a superiority of numbers obliged him to sheer off towards Dunkirk, where being joined by more ships, he gave battle to the Armada, under the command of Don Antonio de Oquendo, and, after a furious contest, forced the Spaniards on the English coast, at a short distance from the port of Dover (a).

Van Tromp, on being informed that the provision of the fleet were almost expended, and that the stock of powder, and ball was considerably reduced, steered his course towards Calis, where he was liberally supplied by the governor, and from whence he returned,

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p. 129. 140.—Lord Clarendon's history of the rebellion, V. 3. p. 93.—See likewise the letters of Robert, Earl of Leicester, ambassador at the court of Paris, to Sir Francis Windebank, secretary of state, in the Sidney papers, V. 2. p. 562. 599. 646.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 137.

(a) The Dutch historians observe that Charles mistook his true interests when he crossed the views of France, and Holland, and discovered a more prevailing attachment to the Spaniards; but experience hath fully evinced that the king judged right, and, with great reason, apprehended more danger from the conjunction of the French, and Dutch, than from the declining power of Spain.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 138.

in order to attack the enemy. At his approach, the Spaniards entered within the South Foreland, and put themselves under the protection of the castles. On this occasion, the Spanish resident importuned Charles that he would oblige the Dutch to forbear hostilities, for two tides, that the Spaniards might have an opportunity of escaping to their own coasts; but the king being in amity with both powers, was resolved to remain neuter; and, whereas the Spaniards had hired some English ships to transport their soldiers to Dunkirk; strict orders were issued in consequence of the complaints made by the Dutch ambassadors, that no ships, or vessels, belonging to the subjects of the crown of England, should receive any Spaniards on board, or pass below Gravesend, without a licence.

With great difficulty, the admiral Oquendo found means for the escape of twelve large ships, on board of which were four thousand men. They proceeded silently, during the night, through the Downs, round by the North Sand-Head, and the back of the Godwin. The Dutch, who had left that passage unguarded, remarked, in vindication of their neglect, that the English had assured them that no ships of any considerable burthen could venture to sail that way, by night. The two armaments had now continued in their station nearly three weeks, when Charles sent the earl of Arundel to the Spanish admiral, who was desired to retreat, on the first fair wind. At this period, the naval force of the Dutch, was augmented to an hundred sail, by ships which had arrived from Zealand, and from Holland. When Van Tromp discovered an inclination to engage the enemy, Sir John Pennington, the chief commander of the English fleet, which then lay in the Downs, and consisted of thirty-four men of war, acquainted him that he had received orders

to act in defence of either of the two parties, which should be first attacked. This transaction plainly discovers how much it imported England to have maintained a superior fleet, at sea; a measure which was prevented by the general dissatisfaction conceived against the tax of ship-money, and the religious disturbances in Scotland. It is probable that Sir John Pennington, who, during that *Æra*, was accused of misconduct, availed himself of every circumstance within his power, to support the dignity of the British flag.

At the expiration of two days, the Spaniards, who presumed on that protection which they had hitherto enjoyed, fired several shot at a barge wherein Van Tromp was then sitting. They next discharged a cannon, the ball from which killed one of the mariners belonging to the Dutch vessel. His dead body was immediately sent to Sir John Pennington, as a proof that the Spaniards, the first aggressors, had violated the neutrality which ought to have been observed within so short a distance from the harbours of the king of England. Soon afterwards, Van Tromp, having received fresh orders from the States, resolved to attack the enemy; but, previous to the commencement of hostilities, addressed to Pennington a letter, in which, having remarked that the conduct of the Spaniards compelled him to prepare instantly for engaging, he intreated that admiral to keep his promise, and act in defence of the Dutch, on whom the Armada had first fired. He added that, although Pennington might not think proper to comply with his request, he trusted that he would, at least, permit him to engage the adversary; otherwise he should have just cause of complaint to all the world, concerning so manifest an injury (*p*).

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(*p*) Cammelyn Leeven van Fred. Hen. fol. 55.—*Lettres d'Esdrades*, tom. 1. p. 40.—*Le Clerc. Histoire des provinces*

When this letter had been delivered to the English admiral, Van Tromp weighed, and stood towards the Spaniards, in six divisions, cannonading them furiously, and vigorously pressing them at the same time, with his fire-ships, so that he immediately forced the whole Armada to cut their cables. Of fifty-three ships, which were the intire number, twenty-three ran ashore, and stranded in the Downs; of these, three were burnt, two sunk; and two perished on the shore. One was a great galleon, (the vice-admiral of Galicia) commanded by Don Antonio de Castro, and mounted with fifty-two brass guns. The English manned the remainder of the twenty-three ships, (which had been deserted by the Spaniards,) in order to prevent them from being taken by the Dutch. The other thirty Spanish ships commanded by Don Antonio de Oquendo, and Lopez, the admiral of Portugal, stood out to sea, and continued their course, in good order, until a fog arose, of which the Dutch availed themselves, and interposing between the admirals, and their fleet, engaged furiously, until the weather became clear, when the man of war, commanded by Lopez, was blown up, by two fire-ships, which, in pursuance of orders from Van Tromp, had been prepared for that purpose. When Oquendo perceived the admiral ship of Portugal in flames, he instantly bore away for Dunkirk, with the admiral of that place, and a small number of other ships. Of the thirty Spanish vessels, five were sunk during the engagement; eleven were taken, and sent to Holland; three perished near the coast of France, and one near Doyer. The remaining ten escaped. As the first hostility had been indisputably committed by the Spaniards, it became a plea, advanced by the Dutch, in their justification; and also served

served as a sufficient argument to defend the conduct of the English government, which otherwise would have appeared repugnant to the law of nations, in suffering one ally to destroy another, within its naval jurisdiction (q).

An indefatigable historian (r) hath deemed it necessary to remark that, in fact, the people of England were not sorry for this misfortune which befel the Spaniards, although the court endeavoured, by every proper measure, to prevent it. He adds that their satisfaction was grounded on surmises that this formidable fleet was a second Armada, fitted out nominally against the Dutch; but, in truth, prepared for the destruction of the heretics, in general. At the first glance, this may appear a wild, and extravagant suggestion; but, perhaps, the reader will, in some measure, be disposed to give it his assent, should we inform him that, when the next parliament was convened, a proof appeared to strengthen the suspicion, and a popish book was produced, in which, amongst other superstitious passages, were prayers for the holy martyrs, who perished in the fleet sent out against the heretics of England (s). Be this as it may, the

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(q) See Sir John Pennington's relation of this engagement in Frankland's annals. p. 793, 794.—Whitlocke, p. 31, 32.—Sir Philip Warwick's Memoirs, p. 119, 120.—Memoirs de Monsieur le Comte d'Estrades, tom. 1.—See his letter to the cardinal de Richlieu, informing him of the victory gained over the Spanish fleet. It is dated from Bergen-op-zoom, on the twentieth of September, in the year, one thousand, six hundred, and thirty-nine.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 140, 141.

(r) Mr Campbell.

(s) Rushworth, A. D. 1639. p. 974.—Prynne's royal Favourite, p. 59.—Fiery Jesuits, 4to. 1667, p. 118.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, p. 142.

bare report, undoubtedly, proved more than sufficient to alarm the populace, and revive their resentments against the Spaniards. Several of our own writers have affected to represent the conduct of the Dutch as derogatory, on this occasion, from our sovereignty on the surrounding ocean; but foreigners have intimated no circumstance of this nature (t), although it must be allowed that the affairs of government were then in such confusion, as to render it extremely doubtful whether Charles could have properly resented an indignity, in case the Dutch had offered it.

Mr. Campbell remarks that he was on the point of following the example of several of our annalists, and leaving unnoticed the expedition, undertaken, during the course of this year, by the marquis of Hamilton, against the Scots. In itself it is of little consequence, yet serves to shew how difficult, on this occasion, is the discovery of truth. A prelate (u), whose veracity as a writer is not unquestionably established, hath composed a plausible relation of the enterprize. He observes that the duke embarked at Yarmouth, towards the middle of April, in the year, one thousand, six hundred, and thirty-nine; and that he was attended by nearly five thousand men, amongst whom not more than two hundred knew how to fire a gun. Concerning the number of ships, or their burthen, he is intirely silent; and only acquaints us that the troops were transported in the colliery-vessels, and that they arrived at the Frith of Forth, on the first of May. There, Hamilton remained for a considerable space of time, treating unsuccessfully with

(t) Nanis's history of Venice, book 11. p. 472, 473.—
Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 142.

(u) Bishop Burnet's Memoirs of James, and William, Dukes of Hamilton, p. 121, 139.

with the Scots. When the season was lost, he returned, without having executed his commission (x).

A discerning contemporary writer (y) hath entered into a widely different detail, which may be here inserted, as it is short, and not unworthy of the notice of the reader. "Hamilton was to have been a distinct general both by sea, and land, and with a good fleet was to block up the Scots seas; nay, to my knowledge he promised so to visit his countrymen on their coasts, as that they should find little ease, or security, in their habitations. For, he had three good English regiments on board of him, but the very choice of his ships shewed that he had more mind to make war upon the king's treasure, than upon his own country, or countrymen; for, he had chosen some of the second, or third rate, whereas the least frigates would have done the greatest service; thus, by the very bulk of his ships, obliging himself to an inactivity. One might well have expected that he who had so prodigally, as a commissioner, lavished his majesty's honour; and unhinged the government, would have vigorously employed these forces under his command, to have restored both; and that a man of his importance would have found some party ready to have countenanced, and assisted him; but, instead thereof, when he comes, and anchors in the Frith, his mother, (a violent spirited lady, and a deep presbyteress,) comes on board of him, and, surely she had no hard task to charm him. Afterwards, the great ships

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(x) See Rushworth. A. D. 1639. p. 936, 931, 932, 933, 934, 935.—Kennet. V. 3. p. 99.—Lord Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, V. 1. p. 124, 120, 121.—Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 30.—Davis's History of the civil wars of England, p. 11.

(y) Sir Philip Warwick's Memoirs, p. 131, 132.

“ ships (like the great formidable log, let down to
 “ be a king,) lying still, he had several visits from
 “ many of the great men, who were most active
 “ against the king, as if he had been rather returned
 “ from an East India voyage, than come as a powerful
 “ enemy.”

From this period, the fleet ceased to be dependant on the king; and therefore, it may be proper to conclude, here, the naval history of king Charles the first.

We now enter on the necessary observations concerning the progress of commerce, the increase of the marine, and the establishment of colonies, during the transient sovereignty of this unhappy prince.

Previous to the commencement of the civil wars, Charles added, amongst others, one ship to the royal navy of England, which on account of its size, and several remarkable particulars, must be mentioned, in this work; and the rather, because few historians have admitted the description:

“ This famous vessel was constructed at Woolwich,
 “ in the year, one thousand, six hundred, and thirty-
 “ seven. She was, in length, by the keel, one hun-
 “ dred and twenty feet; in breadth, forty-eight feet;
 “ in length, from the fore end of the beak, to the af-
 “ ter end of the stern, two hundred, and thirty-two
 “ feet; and in heighth, from the bottom of her keel,
 “ to the top of her lanthorn, seventy-six feet. She
 “ bore five lanthorns, the biggest of which would
 “ hold ten persons upright; had three flush-decks,
 “ a fore-castle; a half deck; a quarter-deck; and
 “ a round-house. Her lower tier thirty ports;
 “ her middle tier, thirty ports; her third tier,
 “ twenty-six ports; fore-castle, twelve ports; half-
 “ deck, fourteen ports; thirteen ports more within
 “ board, exclusive of ten pieces of chace- ordnance,
 forward,

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“forward, and ten right aft, and many loop-holes in
“the cabins, for musket-shot. She had eleven anchors,
“one of which was of the weight of four thousand, and
“four hundred pounds. She was of the burthen of one
“thousand, six hundred, and thirty-seven tons. She was
“built by Peter Pett, Esquire, under the direction of
“captain Phineas Pett, one of the principal officers of
“the navy (z).”

It appears from Sir William Monson, and indeed from all the unprejudiced writers of that era, who were competent judges of these matters, that the trade of Great Britain had increased exceedingly, during the first fifteen years of the reign of Charles, insomuch that the port of London, only, could have supplied

(z) A true description of his majesty's royal ship, built in this year, one thousand, six hundred, and thirty-seven, at Woolwich, in Kent; to the great glory of the English nation, and not paralleled in the whole christian world. Published by authority. London, 1637, 4to. This little piece is addressed to Charles the first, by its author, Thomas Heywood, who appears to have been employed in contriving the emblematical devices, or designs, and in composing the mottoes with which the vessel was embellished.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 145.—The following is a list of the ships added to the royal navy, by Charles the first.

Ships.	Men in Harbour.	Men at Sea.
The Ten Whelps	3	60 some 70
Henrietta Pinnace	3	25
Mary Pinnace	3	25
Charles	9	250
Henrietta Maria	9	250
James	9	260
Victory	9	250
Leopard	7	170
Swallow	6	150
Sovereign		

plied an hundred sail, capable of being easily converted into men of war, and well furnished with ordnance (a). The trade to the East-Indies, which was only in its infancy, previous to the demise of James, the first, now became extremely lucrative; and the English ships gave law, in those parts, to the vessels of almost every foreign nation. The trade to Guinea grew likewise considerably advantageous to the English subjects; and their commercial intercourse with Spain, after the conclusion of the war, was equally successful (b). It must be acknowledged that considerable disputes arose between the government, and the merchants, relative to the customs, which were considered by some of the ministers, as dependent on the crown, and liable to be taken solely by virtue of the prerogative; whereas others conceived, as most of the merchants themselves did, that nothing of this kind could be levied, but by the consent of parliament. Yet these very disputes shewed that trade was in a flourishing condition; for, if the customs had not risen to a considerable height, and beyond what they did in former times, no ministry would have run the hazard of such a contest (c). One

(a) Naval Tracts, p. 293.

(b) Idem. Ibid.

(c) Mr. Campbell observes that many of our able writers of English history, particularly such as lived in those days and have discoursed of them, speak with rapture of the great felicity of the times, and of the wealth, and prosperity of the nation, at the period mentioned in the text. He refers only to few authorities, but adds that it would not be difficult to assemble a cloud of witnesses, in support of what hath been asserted.—Lord Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, V. 1. p. 74, 75, 76.—Sir Philip Warwick's Memoirs, p. 62, 63, 64.—Bulstrode's Memoirs, p. 5.—Bates's Elencus Mortuum, p. 19, 21.—Heath's Chronicle, p. 1.—Sir William Dugdale's short view of the late troubles

One of the principal sources of our naval strength, during that era, was our colonies, to the encouragement, and augmentation of which, even those accidents highly contributed, which might have proved otherwise fatal to society; such as our civil, and ecclesiastical divisions, which induced numbers of sober, industrious, and discerning individuals, to prefer liberty, and whatsoever they could raise in distant, and hitherto uncultivated lands, to the uneasy situation in which they found themselves at home (*d*).

The colony of Virginia had struggled under great difficulties, from the time that it became subject to the direction of a company, until Charles, at his accession, vested the administration of it in a governor, council, and assembly, who were bound to act in strict correspondence with the legal forms prescribed under the constitution of Great Britain. During a short space, the prosperity of Virginia was unmolested. At length, Sir John Harvey, whom the king had appointed governor, proceeded to such tyrannical extremes, that the irritated colonists had recourse to equal violence, and, in the year, one thousand six hundred, and thirty-nine, caused him to be seized, and sent a prisoner to England. Charles, enraged at these proceedings, directed Harvey to return instantly to his government, and peremptorily refused to hear the complaints that were alleged against him (*e*).

Yet

bles in England, p. 63. — Farther to satisfy the Reader, he is referred to that admirable Picture of the State of Europe, in general, and of England, in particular, left us, by the earl of Clarendon, in his life. Edit. 1759. V. 7. p. 70, 71.

(*d*) Neale, in his history of the puritans, observed that the severities exercised by archbishop Laud, drove thousands of families to New-England.

(*e*) Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 147.

Yet this re-establishment was effected solely with a view to support the dignity of the crown ; and, shortly afterwards, Sir John Harvey was succeeded by Sir William Berkley, whose administration, guided by justice, and lenity, restored the happiness of the colony. That of New England received its name from Charles, when he was prince of Wales, and was better settled during the reign of James, than any other of the plantations. When his successor had ascended the throne, it flourished still more considerably, and was constantly supplied with large draughts of people ; so that by degrees, it became divided into four governments, under which (it hath been supposed,) there existed twenty-five thousand inhabitants ; from whence we may infer that the commerce carried on between this colony, and the mother-country, must have been very considerable, even at this early period (*f*).

The papists, in England, perceiving themselves exposed to numerous severities, and dreading still greater evils, were anxious to enjoy with other nonconformists, an asylum in the new world. Hence, arose the settlement of Maryland, a country which had been hitherto accounted a part of Virginia, between thirty-seven, and forty degrees of north latitude. It was granted by Charles, on the twentieth of June, in the year, one thousand, six hundred, and thirty-two, to the ancestor of the late lord Baltimore, and derived its name of Maryland from the queen of England, Henri-

(*f*) British Empire in America, V. 1. p. 372.—History, and present state of Virginia, by colonel R. Beverly, p. 48, 49.—History of the British Plantations in America, by Sir William Keith, baronet, p. 144, 145.—History of the British settlements in North America, by William Douglas, M. D. Vol. 1. Sect. 8.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 148.

Henrietta Maria. It was more easily, and more successfully planted than any former colony had been. Leonard Calvert, the brother to the lord Proprietor, was the first governour, and continued to exercise his authority, until that of the crown grew too feeble to protect him, and until the parliament sent one of their adherents to supplant him (g).

The Sommer-Islands, which were planted in the last Reign, and settled under a regular government, in the year, one thousand, six hundred and nineteen, flourished exceedingly, the country being fertile, and pleasant, and the air much more wholesome than in any other part of America (h). The island of Barbadoes, which had been regularly planted, at the commencement of the reign of Charles, was granted to the earl of Carlisle; and such was the encouragement which he gave to all adventurers, that the place speedily became populous, and rich (i). To this period, also, may we fix the settlement of Saint Christopher, and Nevis.

Relatively to the coinage, it may be necessary to observe that in the second year of the reign of Charles, the first, a pound weight of gold, of the old standard, of twenty-three carats, three grains, and a half fine, and half a grain, allay, was coined into forty-four pounds, and ten shillings, by tale; namely, into rose rials, at thirty shillings, a piece; spur-rials, at fifteen shillings, a piece; and angels, at ten shillings,

(g) British Empire in America, V. 1. p. 323.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 148.

(h) General History of Virginia, New-England, and the Summer-Isles, by captain John Smith, London, 1627. Folio. Book 5.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 149.

(i) True, and exact History of the island of Barbadoes, by Richard Ligon. London, 1657. Folio. p. 43.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 149.

lings, a piece. A pound-weight of crown-gold, of twenty-two carats, fine, and two carats, allay, was coined into forty-one pounds, by tale; namely, into unites, at twenty shillings; double-crowns, at ten shillings, or British crowns, at five shillings, a piece. A pound of silver of the old standard of eleven ounces, two penny-weights, fine, into sixty-two shillings, by tale; namely, into crowns, half-crowns, shillings, half-shillings, two-pences, pence, and half-pence.

The gold coins of this king (as appears from the above indenture,) are rose-rials, spur-rials, angels, unites, double, and British crowns. The silver coins are crowns, half-crowns, shillings, six-pences, two-pences, pence, and half-pence; as, also, ten, and twenty-shilling-pieces, peculiar to this reign which have the figure of Charles, on horseback (*k*).

(*k*) See Rapin's history of England, 8vo. V. 10. p. 544.

M E M O I R S

O F

Sir ROBERT MANSEL.

THIS celebrated officer, descended from an ancient, and noble family, was the third son of Sir Edward Mansel, Knight, by his wife, the lady Jane, daughter to Henry, earl of Worcester (a). He entered early into the sea-service, under the patronage of the illustrious lord Howard of Effingham, high-Admiral of England. During the expedition to Cadiz, his gallantry attracted the notice of the earl of Essex, who rewarded him with knighthood; and, thenceforward, considered him as a favourite, appointing him, previous to his departure, on the island-voyage, to the command of the *Mary-Honora* (b). On his return, he adhered to his former patron, the earl of Nottingham, and was, frequently employed, at sea, during the reign of Elizabeth, but, more particularly,

(a) Dugdale's *Baronage*, V. 2. p. 293.

(b) Birch's *Memoirs of queen Elizabeth*, V. 2. p. 50.
—Stowe, p. 775.—Sir William Monson's *naval Tracts*, p. 189.—Campbell's *Lives of the Admirals*, V. 2. p. 150.

cularly, for the defence of the coast, a service in which his prudence, and intrepidity, attracted the admiration of his fellow-subjects, and the censure of his enemies (c). When, in the year, one thousand, six hundred, and two, he attacked six of the Spanish gallees, on their passage to Flanders, sunk three, and dispersed the rest, the Dutch, and after them, the French historians, misrepresented his behaviour. Sir Robert, eager to vindicate his injured honour, drew up a full relation of his conduct, and addressed it to the lord high-admiral. Following the example of a naval writer (d), we here present an extract, from what he deems a curious, and authentic paper, to the reader.

“ On the twenty third of September, being in the
 “ Hope, and having in my company the Advantage
 “ only of the queen’s ships, which captain Jones
 “ commanded, and two Dutch men of war, I rode
 “ more than half channel over, towards the coast of
 “ France, upon a north-west, and south-east line,
 “ myself being nearest that coast, captain Jones next
 “ me, and the Dutch men of war a sea-board, and
 “ to the Westward of him. The small force, at that
 “ time present, and with me, remaining thus disposed
 “ for the intercepting of the Gallies, having dismissed
 “ the Dutch men of war that served under me, upon
 “ their own intreaty, to re-victual, and trim, and hav-
 “ ing employed the rest of the queen’s ships, upon
 “ especial services, I descried, from my top-mast-
 “ heads, six low sails, which some made for gallies,
 “ whilst others affirmed them to be small barks that had
 “ struck their top-sails, and were bound from Dieppe,
 “ towards the Downs. To which opinion, although I
 “ inclined most, yet I directed the master to weigh,

“ &c.

(c) Camden, p. 895.

(d) Mr. Campbell.

"and stand with them, that I might learn some news
 "of the gallies, which, by your lordship's advertise-
 "ment sent me, I knew had either passed me that
 "night, or were near at hand, unless the sea had
 "swallowed them up in the storms which had raged,
 "three days before. Having set myself under sail,
 "the weather grew thick, which obliged me to lask
 "some two points from the wind, towards the Eng-
 "lish coast, lest the continuance of that dark wea-
 "ther might give them power to run out a-head of
 "me. About eleven o'clock, the weather cleared,
 "when I discovered them plainly to be the Spanish
 "gallies so long time expected, at which time, with
 "the rest, I plied to receive them, by crossing their
 "fore-foot, as they stood along the channel, which
 "they endeavoured, until they perceived that, by the
 "continuance of that course, they could not escape
 "the power of my ordnance."

"All this time, these two fly-boats were between
 "them, and me; and (as the slaves report that swam
 "ashore at Dover,) they determined, with three gal-
 "lies, to have boarded each of those ships; and could
 "have executed that resolution, but for the fear of
 "her majesty's great galleon, (as they termed the
 "Hope,) whose force that they shunned in that kind,
 "(considering the disadvantage that twice six of the
 "best gallies that ever I saw, have by fighting against
 "one ship of her force,) I do as much commend, as
 "otherwise, I do detest their shameful working, in
 "that, full of cowardliness, and weakness, they
 "rowed back to the westward, and spent the day, by
 "running away, in hopes that the darkness of the
 "night would give them liberty sufficient to shun the
 "only ship they feared; or that was indeed in the sea,
 "all that time, to give them the cause of fear, I

“ mean between them and Dunkirk, or Nieuport. This
 “ error only of theirs bred their confusion, as you may
 “ perceive by the sequel.”

“ For, they no sooner began that course of rowing
 “ back again, but I instantly made signs for captain
 “ Jones, in the Advantage, belonging to the queen, to
 “ come to me, whom I presently directed to repair to
 “ Calais-Road, and thence to send the Alarm unto the
 “ army of the States, assembled before Sluys, and to
 “ advise such men of war as kept on the coast of
 “ Flanders, upon any other occasion, to stand off to
 “ sea, to meet with the gallies, in the night, which
 “ should be chased by me, with my lights in my
 “ top-mast-heads, and a continual discharging of
 “ my ordnance. Captain Jones having shaped his
 “ course, according to my directions, I gave orders
 “ for hoisting, and trimming of my sails, by the wind,
 “ to keep sight of the gallies; and the two fly-boats,
 “ being still a weather of me, did the like.”

“ Which chace we held, until sun-setting, observ-
 “ ing this course following, all the day. They, be-
 “ ing a weather of me, kept their continual boards,
 “ that the gallies were always between them, and my-
 “ self being to leeward made such short turns, as I
 “ kept all the afternoon in a manner even in the very
 “ eye of their course, between them, and the place
 “ of their design, ever discharging my best ordnance
 “ to warn the Answer, belonging to her majesty, that
 “ rid, by my directions, at the Downs, upon impor-
 “ tant service, as your lordship knoweth; and the
 “ Flemings that were there, having left the sea, upon
 “ unknown grounds to me, (yet sent from Portsmouth,
 “ by the most provident direction of her sacred ma-
 “ jesty, to await the coming of the gallies, upon ad-
 “ vertisements that her highness received, of their be-
 “ ing

ing to put to sea,) to set sail, who else had received
 "no understanding of the gallies, neither came they
 "within shot of them until after night; howsoever
 "the reputation of the service is wholly challenged by
 "them."

"Having given your lordship an account how this
 "day was thus spent by me, from eight o'clock, until
 "the evening, and with these only helps, I beseech
 "your lordship to be pleased to understand that with
 "the setting of the sun, I could both discern the ships
 "last mentioned, under sail, at the Downs, and the
 "gallies to have set their sails, directing their course
 "close aboard of our shore, each of them being out of
 "sight of the other; and my Dutch consorts, by this
 "time, to have been left by the gallies to a stern-
 "chace. When I perceived them to hold that course
 "which would bring them within shot of the Answer,
 "and the rest that were in the Downs, I held a clean
 "contrary course from them, towards the coast of
 "France, to confirm the secure passage they thought
 "to find on our coast, which I continued, until the
 "report of their battery gave me assurance of the
 "gallies being engaged with them."

"How the battery began, who began it, how it was
 "continued, how ended, and to whom the reputation
 "of the service is due, I leave to be considered by
 "your lordship, by the perusal of the true discourse
 "following. The Answer, belonging to the queen,
 "which captain Broadgate commanded, as she rid more
 "southerly, at the Downs, than the Flemings, so came
 "she first to the gallies, and bestowed twenty-eight
 "pieces of ordnance, in them, before the Flemings
 "came in, who, at length, seconded him with very
 "many shot."

“ During this battery of ours upon the gallies,
“ which I so term, because they never exchanged one
“ shot, at the very first report of the Answer’s ord-
“ nance, I directed the master of my ship to bear up
“ with the south end of the Godwin, with which di-
“ rections, I delivered my reasons publicly, as I stood
“ on the poop of my ship, namely, that if I stood di-
“ rectly in, the gallies, before I could recover the
“ place, would either be driven ashore, or sunk, and so
“ there would prove no need of my force; or else,
“ by their nimble sailing, they would escape their
“ ships, of whom (once getting a-head,) they could
“ receive no impediment; for, there was no one ship,
“ but the Advantage, in the sea, that could hinder
“ them from recovering any port in Flanders, or the
“ east-countries, (Sluys only excepted,) unless I stayed
“ them at that Sand-head.”

“ Having recovered as near that place as I desired,
“ I stayed at least a quarter of an hour, before I could
“ either see the galley, hear, or see any of those ships,
“ their lights, or the report of their ordnance, which
“ made me, and all my company, hold opinion that
“ they had outailed the Answer, and the rest of the
“ Flemings, and shunned sight of me, by going a sea-
“ board of my ship, which I so verily believed, as I
“ once directly determined to sail for Sluys, with hope
“ only that the preparation which I knew the States
“ had there, would be able to prevent their entrance
“ into that place. Whilst I remained thus doubtful,
“ or rather hopeless to hinder their recovery of Dun-
“ kirk, or Nieuport, in case they had been a sea-board
“ of me, some of my company descried a single gal-
“ ley, plying from the shore, to get a-head of my
“ ship. When she approached within caliver-shot, I
“ dif-

" discharged about thirty pieces of ordnance, of my
 " lower, and upper tier, at her alone; myself, with
 " many others in my ship, saw when her main-yard
 " was shot asunder, heard the report of many shot
 " that hit her hull, heard many of their most pitiful
 " outcries, which when I perceived to continue, and,
 " instead of making way from me, I forbore shoot-
 " ing, and commanded one that spoke the Portuguese
 " language, to tell them that I was contented to re-
 " ceive them to mercy; which I would accordingly
 " have performed, had not the other five gallies offered
 " to stand a-head of me, at that very instant, and there-
 " by would have left me, as they had both the first
 " two Dutch ships, and, afterwards, the Answer, with
 " the rest of the Flemings, had I omitted any small
 " time, of executing the advantage I had, of their
 " being on my broadside, which, as appears, was so
 " effectually employed, (howsoever the night wherein
 " this service was performed, might hinder the parti-
 " cular mention of their hurts,) as none can deny,
 " but that GOD pleased thereby only to work their
 " confusion. For, since that time, none hath said,
 " or can speak of any one shot made towards them;
 " yet four of them are sunk, and wrecked, the fifth
 " past doing the enemy service, and the sixth they
 " are forced to new-build at Dunkirk, where, (if I be
 " not much deceived,) she will prove more charge-
 " able, than profitable, if the default rest not in our-
 " selves."

" The disagreement between the Dutch captains
 " themselves, touching the stemming, and sinking of
 " the gallies, (whereof one challenged before your
 " lordship, and in many other public places, to have
 " stemmed, and sunk two himself,) and the printed
 " pamphlet, containing the stemming, and sinking of

“three gallies, gives the reputation thereof to three
“several captains, amongst whom no mention is made
“of the first; and whereas there are but two in all
“sunk, I leave to be reconciled amongst themselves,
“and to your lordship, whether that the same of right
“appertaineth not to her majesty's ship, the Hope, in
“respect of the allegations before mentioned, every
“particular whereof, being to be proved by the oaths
“of my whole company, and maintained with the hazard of my life, with that which followeth.”

“First, as the shooting of the single galley's main-yard; my bestowing above thirty pieces of ordnance, upon that one galley, within less than caliber-shot.”

“Secondly, that they in the galley made many lamentable outcries, for my receiving them to mercy.”

“Thirdly, that I would accordingly have received them, but for giving them over, to encounter with the other five gallies, which else had left me to a stern-chace.”

“To these reasons, I add the assertion of the vice-admiral himself, who told me (whatsoever he spake in other places,) that one of the gallies, which he stemmed, had her main-yard shot asunder, before his coming on board of her; by whomsoever she was then stemmed, your lordship may judge who ruined her, considering she made no resistance by his own report, but by crying to him for mercy.”

“Touching the other galley stemmed, and sunk, I have already proved how she (as all the rest) had got a-head of the Answer, of the queen's, not named, and the rest of the States men of war with her, who challenge the whole credit of this service. They (as all other seamen,) cannot deny but that the
“gal-

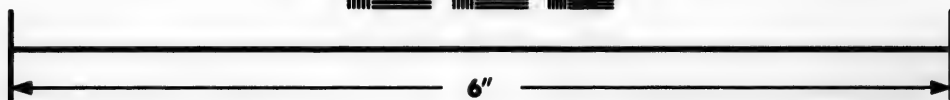
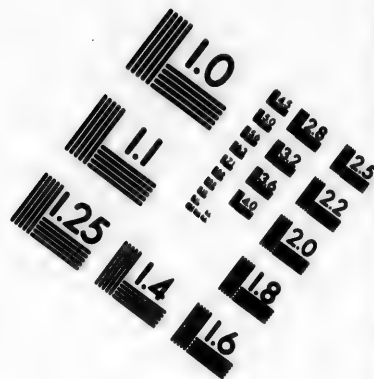
"gallies will outfail all ships, in such a loome gale
 "of wind, and smooth sea, as we had that night."

"The gallies then being quicker of sail than they,
 "how could they, by any means possible, fetch them
 "up, but by some impediment? Impediment they re-
 "ceived none, but by my ordnance, which amounted
 "to fifty great shot at those five which came last from
 "the shore, when all the ships were above a mile
 "astern."

"Some, notwithstanding, out of their detracting
 "dispositions, may, perchance, say that the two which
 "were wrecked at Nieuport, would have perished by
 "storm, although they had not been battered:
 "whereto, although I have speedily answered, first, in
 "shewing that they might have recovered any of the
 "places thereabouts, before eight o'clock that night,
 "but for me, and then the second time, before the
 "morning, had they not been encountered by me
 "alone, at the South Sand-Head; yet for further proof
 "that they miscarried by our battery only, I say, that
 "if one of the gallies which received least damage by
 "our ordnance, did outlive Friday's storm, continu-
 "ing until Saturday noon, being driven amongst the
 "islands of Zealand, to recover Calais, then surely those
 "two (unless they had been exceedingly torn,) would
 "have made shift to have recovered the ports of Nieu-
 "port, Graveling, or Dunkirk; especially since from
 "the place where I battered them, they might have
 "been at the remotest of those places, about four
 "hours before any storm began. But such seemed
 "their haste to save their lives, as their thought ran
 "of a shore, and not of a harbour."

"Now, that I have delivered unto your lordship
 "the whole, and true discourse of this business, I shall
 "forebear to trouble your patience with any farther





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" relation of that night, and next day's spending my
 " time (although the same, in her chace, had like to
 " have cost her majesty her ship, and the lives of as
 " many as were in her,) and conclude with the admira-
 " tion of their not holding her majesty's ship, nor I,
 " (her unworthiest servant,) and then, and yet, by her
 " highnesses grace, and your lordship's favour, ad-
 " miral of the forces in that place, am not once men-
 " tioned, especially since the six gallies might safely
 " have arrived, before seven o'clock, that night, at
 " any of the ports of Flanders, to the Westward of
 " Ostend. And that the Dutch ships had not come from
 " an anchor in the Downs, but for the signs (Signals,)
 " they received from me. Then, that the force of
 " her majesty's ship, wherein I was, enforced them to
 " keep close aboard the English shore, whereby those
 " ships in the Downs, had power given them to come
 " to fight, which fight was begun by the Answer, be-
 " longing to the Queen."

" And, lastly, since the gallies escaped their battery,
 " and had gotten a-head of those ships above a mile at
 " least, and never received any impediment after, but
 " only by me, who lingered them (as you have heard,)
 " until the coming up of those ships that challenge to
 " stem them ; which being granted, I cannot see how
 " any other credit can be rightly given them (for that
 " stem, I mean,) than to a lackey for pillaging of
 " that dead body which his master had slain."

Mr. Campbell advances three motives for the propriety of inserting this long relation. First, because the paper is very curious in itself, and well drawn (e).

Next,

(e) We cannot implicitly assent to one part of this assertion. The language is obscure almost throughout the whole quotation, and, in some places, the reader may be on the point of thinking it unintelligible.

SIR ROBERT MANSEL. 281

Next because it reflects honour on the memory of Sir Robert Mansel; and, particularly deserves a place within a naval work. Lastly, as it shews the correctness of those times, when every important circumstance was examined, and sifted to the bottom; a proceeding which rendered officers so anxious to preserve their characters, that they were always ready to publish a strict relation of their conduct, in that explicit manner which silenced calumny, and took away the necessity of inquiry.

When James, the first, succeeded to the throne, Sir Robert Mansel, retained his post of vice-admiral, to which he had been advanced through the interest of the earl of Nottingham. To this illustrious patron, he firmly, and gratefully adhered, when the enemies of the former had prevailed on his sovereign to issue a commission, equally detrimental to his reputation, and authority, for the purpose of discovering, and correcting abuses in the department of the marine. From this invidious mode of inquiry, Mansel advised the earl of Nottingham to dissent, and thus, incurring the indignation of the court, was committed prisoner to the Marshalsea, where he remained during the space of some months (*f*). It must, however, be confessed that the commission was followed by salutary consequences, and that the detection, and amendment of numerous abuses, proved the means of saving, soon afterwards, to the crown, the annual sum of twenty-five thousand pounds (*g*). It was, on this occasion, that

Sir

(*f*) A. D. 1613.—Winwood's memorials, V. 3. p. 460.
—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 159.

(*g*) This circumstance is affirmed (as a fact,) by James, in his speech, addressed to the parliament, in the year, one thousand, six hundred, and twenty. (See Frankland's Annals, p. 49.)

Sir Robert advised the lord high-admiral to resign his office, perceiving, that, as his abilities were enfeebled, a longer continuance in it might become more, and more detrimental to the public, and to himself.

In order to prevent the navy from receiving any prejudice by the resignation of the earl of Nottingham, Sir Robert Mansel advised the duke of Buckingham to obtain the post; and when this aspiring favourite pleaded his youth, and inexperience, replied that, in times of peace, the best service which could be performed was an assiduous attention to the repairs of the navy; that, at the first entrance into office it might be sufficient to rebuild the necessary ships, and correct abuses; and that habit would, at length, render him so intimately conversant with the business of his department as to perform his duty, whensoever he might be called, by future wars, to action. When the duke succeeded Nottingham, he presented his countess with three thousand pounds; and her husband obtained a pension, amounting to one thousand pounds. In consequence of this transaction (*h*), Sir Robert Mansel

p. 49.) The king rewarded the several commissioners with the honour of knighthood, for the services rendered, at this juncture, to the nation, and for the great pains which they had taken. The names of these gentlemen were Fortescue, Osborn, Gaughton, Sutton, and Pitts,—(See Camden's annals of the reign of James, the first, under the year, one thousand, six hundred, and nineteen)—Sir William Monson, who devised the measure, was severely, and unjustly censured by several of his contemporaries. A similar commission, which demonstrates the zeal of the sovereign for the prosperity of the marine, was directed in the second year of the reign of Charles, the first, to James, earl of Marlborough; George, duke of Buckingham; Robert, earl of Lindsay, and other lords.—Rymer's *Fœdera*, V. 18. p. 758.—Campbell's *Lives of the Admirals*, V. 2. p. 160.

(*h*) A. D. 1616.

fel was appointed, through the interest of Buckingham, vice-admiral, for life.

Yielding to the sagacious counsels of this experienced officer, the duke prevailed on James to invest persons of approved abilities in the maritime department, with a commission for the management of the navy. It is reasonable to infer that, during the subsequent confusion in every branch of government, this measure alone prevented the ruin of the fleet. Even during the impeachment of Buckingham, it became the least exceptionable article of his defence(*i*).

In the year, one thousand, six hundred, and twenty, Sir Robert Mansel commanded the fleet equipped, for the reduction of the pirates of Algiers. As this enterprize hath been already mentioned (*k*), let it be deemed sufficient to remark that a naval writer (*l*) imagines that the admiral was more unfortunate, than criminal. It is admitted that he advised the measure from a generous, and public spirited motive; the desire of exalting the naval reputation of the English, and of delivering their commerce from the injuries to which it had been exposed by the depredations of these lawless rovers; yet we learn that he was sent abroad with so limited a commission, and attended by such inexperienced officers, (advanced, imprudently, through the interest of courtiers,) that his designs, although sagaciously concerted, were marred by their misconduct.

That

(*i*) Frankland's Annals, p. 188.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 161.

(*k*) See from the commencement to the thirteenth page of the fourth volume of this work.—And also an account of this expedition, printed by authority. 1621. Quarto.—Rushworth's Collections, V. 1. p. 34.—Frankland's Annals, p. 55.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 161.

(*l*) Mr. Campbell.

That he employed all means, within his power, to facilitate the accomplishment of the enterprize, hath been affirmed by a multitude of historians who were, at once, his contemporaries, and his admirers.

This unfortunate event, added to the unmerited indifference of Buckingham, gave rise to that neglect which he experienced during the reign of Charles, to whom it hath been imputed, as a dangerous error, that he did not once avail himself of the naval services of Sir Robert Mansel (*m*). This accomplished seaman continued, notwithstanding, in the post of vice-admiral. He died, without issue, soon after the commencement of the civil wars (*n*) (*o*).

(*m*) Kennet, V. 3. p. 13. — L'Estrange's History of Charles the first, p. 17. — Rushworth's Collections, V. 1. p. 195.

(*n*) English Baronetage, V. 1. p. 489. — Mr. Campbell remarks, in a note, that the knowledge of Sir Robert Mansel must have been very extensive, and the reputation of his conduct, and intrepidity firmly established, as we find him, in the year, one thousand, six hundred, and forty-two, recommended, by Sir John Pennington, to the king, as the properest person to seize the fleet for the royal service; his authority, as vice-admiral of England, added to the respect paid him by the seamen, being, as was suggested, likely to meet with little resistance from the power of the earl of Warwick, who had found means, in the preceding year, to bring the navy under the dominion of the parliament; but Charles was apprehensive lest the advanced age, and infirmities of Mansel, might, notwithstanding that his courage, and integrity were unquestionable, render the attempt hazardous. At this period, Sir Robert resided at Greenwich. — Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, V. 2. p. 675.

(*o*) As most of the naval transactions in which Sir William Monson was engaged have been circumstantially related, we shall not introduce his memoirs in a work, where much important matter must be confined to very narrow limits.

M E M O I R S

O F

ILLUSTRIOUS SEAMEN, &c.

CONTINUATION OF

The FIFTH PERIOD.

NAVAL, COMMERCIAL, and MISCELLANEOUS
TRANSACTIONS, during the CIVIL WARS.

WHEN the disputes between the king and parliament, had been carried to such violent extremes that they prepared for war, the possession of the fleet became the first object of their attention, from a consciousness that the party under which it served would be considered, by foreign princes, as the sovereign power (*a*). At this period, the earl of Northumberland was lord high-admiral; and the post had been conferred on him by Charles, to indulge the wishes of the commons, who had declared him

(*a*) Sir Philip Warwick's Memoirs, p. 217.—Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, V. 2. p. 477.—Coke's Detection, p. 152.—May's History of the Parliament of England, Book 2. p. 49.—Sir William Dugdale's short view of the late troubles of England, p. 91.

him worthy of their confidence; a circumstance, which probably, contributed not a little to the grant of the commission during pleasure only, although the reason given for this limitation, by the sovereign, was a design to confer the office on his son, the duke of York, so soon as he should become of age (*b*). Sir Robert Mansel, an officer of approved loyalty, valour, and experience, but aged, and infirm, was vice-admiral of England. Sir John Pennington filled the post of vice-admiral of the fleet, then at anchor in the Downs, and Sir John Minnes was rear-admiral. These officers were well affected to the royal cause. The parliament had formed a project for dispossessing the sovereign of his navy, and even carried it into execution, notwithstanding that Charles had won the approbation of the seamen, whose wages he considerably raised, and for whom he expressed, on all occasions, a particular esteem (*c*). As this extraordinary measure was attended by consequences the most important, and serviceable to the interests of the parliament, we shall present the reader with a brief, and impartial account of the steps which led to its accomplishment.

In the spring of the year, one thousand, six hundred, and forty-one, the parliament desired, or, in effect, directed the earl of Northumberland to provide a formidable fleet, for the security of the nation, by sea, and appropriated an ample fund for this service. They, next, requested that he would appoint the earl of Warwick, admiral of this armament, on account
of

(*b*) Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, V. 2. p. 480. V. 5. p. 136.—Lord Strafford's Letters, V. 1. p. 54. 67.

(*c*) May's History of the Parliament of England, Book 2. p. 49. 53. 91.—Coke's Detection, p. 152.—Kennet, V. 3. p. 125.—Clarendon, V. 2. p. 478. 674. 680.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 172.

of his own indisposition, which rendered it impossible for him to command in person (*d*). This proceeding was resented by Charles, who insisted that Sir John Pennington should not relinquish his command; but Northumberland paid such respect to the recommendation of the parliament, that, availing himself of the power derived to him from his commission, he ordered the fleet to be delivered up to the earl of Warwick, and formally raised him to the command of it. Successful in this important point, the parliament expressed an inclination to displace Sir John Pennington, and give the post of vice-admiral to captain Cartwright, the comptroller of the navy. This officer refused to undertake the service, until he had obtained the permission of the king, who, being applied to, commanded him to decline it. On this occasion, the parliament immediately conferred the office of vice-admiral on Batten, a violent opposer of the royal cause. Thus, in the spring of the year, one thousand, six hundred, and forty-two, was the navy transferred from the sovereign to the parliament; yet Charles concluded that he could recover it, at any time; an infatuation which may account for his suffering Northumberland to remain in office, until, being more alarmed, he yielded to the necessity of displacing him (*e*).

At this period, the Providence, the sole vessel in the possession of Charles, was dispatched, by the queen, from

(*d*) Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 57.—Sir William Dugdale's short view of the late troubles of England, p. 91.—May's History of the Parliament, Book 2. p. 49.—Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, V. 2. p. 442. 478.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 171, 172.

(*e*) Sir Philip Warwick's Memoirs, p. 218.—Heath's Chronicle, p. 31.—Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, V. 2. p. 480. 482.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 171, 172.

from Holland, with supplies. Arriving in the Downs, she came in sight of the fleet, a ship from which chased her into the Humber, and there forced the captain to run her ashore. Inflamed with indignation at this extraordinary violence, the king resolved on an attempt to seize the navy, and success would, probably, have been the consequence, if the execution of the design had proved equal to the contrivance; but, through the misconduct of Sir John Pennington, it miscarried, and served only to defeat the hopes which Charles had formed of embracing a more favourable occasion for the accomplishment of his views. Warwick now availed himself of the opportunity for which he long had wished, and dismissed from the naval service all persons who had discovered the least attachment to the Royalists (*f*).

The parliament, as they had manifested great care, and industry, in establishing the security, so they shewed not less wisdom in the management of the fleet, which was always preserved in good order, whilst the seamen were liberally, and regularly paid. In the year, one thousand, six hundred, and forty-three, vice-admiral Batten, having received intelligence that the queen intended to sail from Holland, to the North of England, in a Dutch man of war, endeavoured, notwithstanding that the States were at peace with Great Britain, to intercept her on the passage. In this attempt he failed, but chased the ship into Burlington Bay, and, having discovered that the queen was landed, and lodged in a house, upon the key, he discharged his ordnance against it, in so unerring a direction, that several of the shot passed through her chamber, and she

(*f*) May's History of the Parliament, Book 2. p. 94. 95.—Clarendon, V. 2. p. 673.—Whitelocke, p. 60.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 172.

she was obliged, although much indisposed, to retire, for safety, into the open fields (g). This service, which was performed in the month of February, proved extremely grateful to the parliament, because it discovered with what zeal the officers of the fleet, at least, endeavoured to promote their interests.

It was recommended to the king, by those who were extremely anxious for the prosperity of his affairs, during the time when the treaty for peace was in agitation at Oxford, in April, of the year, one thousand, six hundred, and forty-three, to seize the opportunity which then presented itself, of attaching the earl of Northumberland to his service, from a persuasion that the measure might be attended with the happiest consequences in favour of the royal cause. It is observed by Clarendon, that Mr. Pierpoint, who was endued with the most solid understanding, rather desired than proposed the measure; and that the earl himself had protested, in confidence to secretary Nicholas, that he wished only to receive so great an instance of the favour of his sovereign, that he might be the more enabled to re-deliver, into his hands, the fleet which the parliament had found means to take possession of, and which he doubted would hardly be seized from them, at least so soon, by any other expedient whatsoever. A multitude of untoward circumstances prevented Charles from acceding to the proposition. He was exceedingly offended at the former carriage of Northumberland; he could not entertain a favourable opinion of his power, even amidst his own party, when he recollected that he had not sufficient

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(g) Clarendon's History, V. 3. p. 143.—Heath's Chronicle, p. 42.—Davies's History of the Civil Wars, p. 85.—Rushworth, A. D. 1643. p. 156.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 173.

interest to procure an enlargement of the time stipulated for the treaty ; and he apprehended that he might suffer, in his honour, by such a concession to a person who had so unworthily requited the many graces which he had hitherto bestowed on him. Another, and still stronger motive for his rejecting this proposal, was the promise which he had given to the queen, at her departure for Holland, to receive no person into favour, or trust, who had disobliged him, without her privity ; and although that princess landed in England about the time when the treaty began, or rather on the twenty-second of February, which preceded it, yet she did not arrive at Oxford, until the thirteenth of the following month of July, the day on which the parliament received that memorable defeat, in the Action at Round-way Down ; and for want of her presence, this overture, that might have proved of the utmost importance to the cause of Charles, was unhappily rejected (*A*).

In September, of the same year, the parliament commanded the earl of Warwick to attempt the relief of Exeter, a service which he performed with great zeal, but with indifferent success. Sailing up the river, which runs by the walls of the town, in hopes of conveying succours into the place, he found some works thrown up near the shore, which prevented him from annoying the besiegers so much as he expected. Still desirous of engaging in some action of importance, he remained on this station, until the tide fell, when he was forced to depart, leaving behind

(*A*) Life of Edward, earl of Clarendon, V. 1. p. 150, 151, 152, 153, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158.—Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, V. 3. p. 225, 226, 290, 291.—Rushworth's Collections. A. D. 1643, p. 275.—Heath's Chronicle, p. 46, 47.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 170.

hind three of his ships, one of which was burnt; but the remaining two were taken by the royalists (*i*). On the coast of Devonshire, his services were more important. There, he not only secured Plymouth, and other places, but had the address, during the whole time that he commanded, to keep the fleet firm in the interests of the parliament (*k*).

Whilst the Presbyterians retained the ascendant, the concerns of the navy were on a prosperous establishment. To this party, the earl of Warwick, and all his officers proved intirely devoted. Every summer, a powerful squadron was equipped to serve, as occasion might require, and thus, the commerce of the nation became considerably protected (*l*). But, in the year, one thousand, six hundred, and forty-eight, and whilst the power of the independents was the most prevailing, the direction of affairs became turned into a different channel, and it was resolved to remove the earl of Warwick from his command, notwithstanding the services which he had performed, and to bestow the post of admiral on Colonel Rainsborough (*m*).

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(*i*) Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, V. 3. p. 336.—Davies's History of the Civil Wars, p. 94.—May's History of the Parliament, Book 3. p. 58, 59.—Whitlocke, p. 72.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 176.

(*k*) Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, V. 3. p. 281. 336.—Rushworth's Collections—Whitlocke.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 176.

(*l*) Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, V. 5. p. 132.—Rushworth's Collections.—Whitlocke.—Heath.—History of Independency, p. 1, 2.—Sir Philip Warwick's Memoirs.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 177.

(*m*) Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, V. 5. p. 122. 132.—Rushworth's Collections, A. D. 1648. p. 822.—Ludlow's Memoirs, V. 1. p. 236.—Heath's Chronicle, p. 175.—Sir Thomas Herbert's Memoirs of the two last years of the Reign of Charles, the first, p. 53.—Manley's History of the Rebellion, p. 182.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 177.

This officer, who had been bred a seaman, and was the son of a commander of distinction, quitted the regiment of foot in which he then served, with the army of the parliament. When the news of this promotion in the navy had reached the Downs, the seamen were in great confusion. The earl of Warwick, and Batten, his vice-admiral, inflamed by a sense of insult, and the prospect of their dismissal, fought rather to increase than soften the general discontent. When Rainsborough, and his officers appeared, they assisted in the seizure of their persons, and, having driven them ashore, did not openly oppose the conduct of the seamen, who were resolved to depart immediately for Holland, in order to take on board the duke of York, whom they stiled their Admiral, because the intention of the king to advance him to that command was not unknown (n).

Although Charles, at this period, was a prisoner; and, notwithstanding that his affairs appeared desperate, yet if the revolt of the fleet had been properly conducted, the issue might have proved favourable to his cause; yet such were the proceedings of the seamen, that it is scarcely possible to suppose how few advantages were drawn from an event so promising in its nature. It must be confessed that the parliament, upon the first intimation of the growing disaffection amongst the sailors had directed that half of the usual provisions should be put on board the fleet. Yet it will

(n) Clarendon's History of the rebellion, V. 5. p. 136, 137.—Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 308.—Dr. Bates's Elenchus Motuum, p. 100.—Rushworth, p. 1131.—Sir Philip Warwick's Memoirs, p. 316.—Sir William Dugdale's History of the late troubles of England, p. 283.—Davies's History of the civil Wars in England, p. 231.—Bulstrode's Memoirs, p. 168.—Sir John Bowring's Memoirs, p. 146.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 177.

will appear that this want might easily have been remedied, when it is considered that the county of Kent was in arms for Charles, and that many of the inhabitants had repaired to the ships, with a determination to act in his defence (*o*). Yet, as the spirit of resistance to the authority of parliament, originated solely from the seamen, few officers seemed desirous of adhering to their party, when they declared for Charles. In want of chiefs, and not inclined to seek advice from men who were not used to naval service, they lost the time in fruitless deliberations concerning the measures to be pursued, and, thus, imprudently, gave the parliament an opportunity of recovering from the fright into which this unexpected event had thrown them. The first resolution of the commons was that the earl of Warwick should be immediately restored to his title, and command, and he, accordingly, received orders to draw together a fleet, without the least delay (*p*).

This revolted armament (if, properly, it may be so called,) which, at length, sailed for Calais, consisted of seventeen powerful vessels, to oppose which the parliament had not a sufficient force (*q*). The sea-

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(*o*) Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, V. 5. p. 136.—Heath's Chronicle, p. 176.—Davies's History of the Civil Wars in England, p. 231.—Coke's Detection, p. 185.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 178.

(*p*) Ludlow's Memoirs, V. 1. p. 237.—Dugdale's short view of the Troubles of England, p. 284.—Rushworth's Collections, A. D. 1648. p. 1131.—Whitlocke, p. 308.—Life of Doctor John Barwick, p. 102.—Bates's Elencus Motuum, p. 102.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 178.

(*q*) Clarendon's history of the Rebellion, V. 5. p. 137, 138.—Heath's Chronicle.—Whitlocke's Memorials.—Davies's History of the Civil Wars, p. 231.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 178.

men left a ship riding before the harbour of this place, for the purpose of receiving on board the prince of Wales, and then departed for Holland. Soon afterwards, the prince, and his brother, the duke of York, repaired to the ship, attended by several persons of quality, their companions in exile. Instead of deliberating concerning the service in which the fleet might most prudently be employed, the persons aspiring to their chief command were busied in intrigues, and the contending parties so infatuated the seamen, that the spirit of loyalty, by which they were at first induced to embrace this extraordinary measure, became intirely extinguished (*r*).

In the midst of these disputes, admiral Batten arrived, with the *Constant Warwick*, one of the best ships in the navy of the parliament, and several officers of note. On this occasion, the prince of Wales conferred the honour of knighthood on Batten, and appointed him rear-admiral, his brother, the duke of York, having before advanced the lord Willoughby, of Parham, who was also a new convert from the parliament, to the post of vice-admiral (*s*). As the fleet now amounted to about twenty sail, it was judged proper to enter upon action, and two schemes were proposed. The first was to sail to the Isle of Wight, and to rescue the king, which might, most probably, have been effected; the other, to enter the river Thames, in order to awe the city of London, by interrupting their commerce, and to enfeeble the parliament

(*r*) Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, V. 5. p. 138, 139. Echard—Rapin.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 179.

(*s*) Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, V. 5. p. 140.—Heath's Chronicle, p. 176—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 179.

liament by obstructing their supplies of seamen from the outward-bound ships. This measure, whether deemed the most practicable, or the most profitable, was immediately carried into execution (*t*).

At its commencement, the success of this enterprise proved extremely favourable, and the fleet under the prince, took numbers of rich prizes, near the mouth of the river, particularly a ship, bound for Rotterdam, laden with cloth, and valued at forty thousand pounds. Soon afterwards, he entered into a treaty with the city, which, at length, ended in a composition for the prizes (*u*). Meanwhile the earl of Warwick had fitted out a formidable fleet, at Portsmouth, with which he sailed into the Downs, and cast anchor in sight of the prince of Wales. Great, but ineffectual endeavours were used by both parties to seduce the seamen from their respective fleets. At one period, the prince had resolved, and even attempted to give battle to the enemy; but when the wind changed, and the officers reported that the provisions fell short, it was judged expedient to proceed towards Holland, where the fleet arrived, in safety; but so divided in opinion were the commanders, that no new course could be resolved on (*x*). The earl of War-

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- (*t*) Clarendon's history of the Rebellion, V. 5. p. 141.—Sir Philip Warwick's Memoirs, p. 315.—Ludlow's Memoirs, V. 1. p. 237.—Manley's history of the Rebellion, p. 182.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 180.
 (*u*) Clarendon's history of the Rebellion, V. 5. p. 156, 157.—Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 327.—Heath's Chronicle, p. 176.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 180.
 (*x*) Clarendon's history of the Rebellion, V. 5. p. 159.—Ludlow's Memoirs, V. 1. p. 241.—Whitlocke, p. 327.—Rushworth's Collections, A. D. 1648. p. 1251. 1254.—Sir Richard Bulstrode's Memoirs, p. 171.—Manley's history of the Rebellion, p. 183.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 180.

wick, who had foreseen their proceedings, and was sensible that they could not obtain supplies of money, sufficient for the payment of the wages due to the sailors, chased them to their retreat, and sent a message to the States, requiring them to compel certain ships, which had revolted from the parliament of England, to put to sea.

At so critical a juncture, the States were at a loss what conduct to pursue. Unwilling to offend the admiral in the service of the parliament, they were yet sensible that they could not, without incurring the severest censures, permit the prince of Wales to be insulted, not only near their coasts, but even within their harbours. In the mean time, it became difficult to prevent those hostilities which the two parties, at once excited by hatred, and by necessity, were eager to commit, and the rather, because each, elated with the hope of victory, concluded that several of the adverse ships would at length desert, and engage under the same banner. The first measure resolved on by the States, was to direct the admiralty of Rotterdam to equip, with all possible expedition, a formidable naval armament, which, falling down the river, might prevent the two fleets from coming to an engagement. At the same time, they ordered four deputies to wait upon the admirals, and, in their name, desire that no violence which would affect the sovereignty of the republic, might be committed either on the shore, or within sight of any of their harbours.

On this occasion, the prince of Wales appeared the most submissive, because a number of the sailors, who had been badly paid, deserted, and even several of the ships, and officers, formerly in the service of the parliament, had now returned to it. His whole force
consisted

consisted only of fourteen vessels, all poorly equipped; and with these, he retired under the cannon of Helvoet, determined rather to avoid, than offer insults (y).

The earl of Warwick who, at this juncture, had haughtily insisted that all persons serving on board the fleet, commanded by the prince of Wales, were deserters, and ought immediately to be delivered up, on a sudden, relinquished his pretensions, and perceiving that no effectual service could be accomplished, stood out to sea, and, shortly afterwards, returned to England, when the royal fleet was put absolutely under the command of prince Rupert, who determined to render the war piratical; and thus, this extraordinary event, which, properly managed, might have been the means of preserving the sovereign, and the king-

(y) Clarendon's history of the Rebellion, V. 5. p. 197.—Ludlow's Memoirs, V. 1. p. 241, 242.—Rushworth's Collections, A. D. 1648. p. 1268. 1274. 1278. 1294. 1297. 1307. 1319.—Bainage. *Annales des Provinces Unies*. V. 1. p. 139, 140.—At this period, a pamphlet made its appearance, at London, and was, undoubtedly, written with a view to render the earl of Warwick suspected by his party. It was intitled "A declaration of the earl of Warwick, whilst that nobleman was on the coast of Holland, with his fleet, intimating a resolution to join the prince, in case the treaty of Newport, in the isle of Wight, did not take effect." Warwick was so much offended by the aspersions which it contained, that he opposed it with a counter-declaration, dated from on board the Saint George, in Helvoet-Sluice, and on the eleventh of November, in the year, one thousand, six hundred, and forty-eight. Herein, he testifies all imaginable obedience to the parliament, his abhorrence of such a conduct, as inconsistent with his duty, and the peace of the kingdom, and a solemn assurance of his persevering to the last, in support of their cause. This declaration, with letters to the same purport, he forthwith transmitted to England.—Rushworth, p. 1326.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 181.

kingdom, brought no advantage to the former, and proved of infinite detriment to the latter, as it divided the maritime force, and rendered precarious the commerce of the nation. These transactions happened betwixt the latter end of July, in the year, one thousand, six hundred, and forty-eight, and the close of the ensuing month of December, about which time, prince Rupert quitted the Dutch coast, in order to repair to Ireland. On this expedition, he fortunately succeeded, taking several prizes, during the passage, and, at length, arriving at the port of Kinsale (z).

The parliament had now recovered their sovereignty at sea, where they kept such powerful squadrons continually cruising, that it was not deemed prudent for the prince of Wales to venture his person on that element, in order to proceed for Ireland, where his presence was become necessary (a). The earl of Warwick, who had served the parliament, with fidelity and success, was removed from the command of the fleet, now given to officers of the army, amongst whom were Blake, Dean, and Popham, men, who, by the propriety of their conduct, not only gained the affections of the sailors, but acquired more speedily than could have been imagined, an extensive knowledge of the naval arts (b).

Prince

(z) Clarendon's history of the Rebellion, V. 6. p. 201. 205, 206, 207.—Rushworth's Collections, A. D. 1648. p. 1361. 1366. 1389. 1428.—Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 349. 361. 374.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 182.

(a) Clarendon's history of the Rebellion, V. 5. p. 323, 324.—Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 389, 397.—Heath's Chronicle, p. 240.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 183.

(b) Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 383.—Ludlow's Memoirs, V. 2. p. 290.—In the two hundred, and seventh number of

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Prince Rupert was engaged in cruising, and taking prizes during the greater part of the year, one thousand, six hundred, and forty-nine (c), a period whilst the wars were carried on, with unremitting violence, in Ireland. As a majority of the inhabitants of this kingdom had espoused the interests of the parliament, the latter directed their admirals, Blake, and Popham, to block up the royal vessels, in the port of Kinsale; a commission which they executed so effectually, that prince Rupert, deserted by numbers of his men, was reduced to the most complicated distress. Perceiving that his cause had become desperate, that the whole kingdom of Ireland was, in a manner, subdued, that all hopes of succour were lost, and that no advantageous terms could be expected from the conquerors, he embraced the desperate resolution of forcing a passage through the fleet belonging to the enemy, and effected it, on the twenty-fourth of October, but with the loss of three ships. He now sailed towards the coast of France (d), where he continued to obstruct the commerce, and seize the vessels of the English, acting intirely from the dictates of his own will,

of the "Moderate Intelligencer," (a paper published at this period,) is the act at large, appointing Blake, Popham, and Dean, or any two of them, to be admirals, and generals of the fleet at sea. Consult their instructions in Thurloe's State Papers, V. 1. p. 134.

(c) Heath's Chronicle, p. 254. 256.—Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 391.—Davies's History of the Civil Wars, p. 298.—Moderate Intelligencer, No. 227. In this paper, violent complaints are made concerning the many prizes daily taken by the prince, as well on the coasts of Cornwall, as in the Irish seas.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 183.

(d) Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, V. 5. p. 338. 339.—Bates's Elencus Motuum, Part 2. p. 32.—Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 429.—Heath's Chronicle, p. 254.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 184.

will, and neither demanding, nor receiving the least instruction from the king.

It was the intention of prince Rupert, (and, probably, with a view of privateering,) to proceed into the Mediterranean (*e*). When he had reached the coast of Spain, his fleet suffered exceedingly by a storm, which drove five of his ships into the port of Carthagena, where they were surrounded by the Spaniards, who, after having committed many acts of plunder, obliged several of the English seamen to enter into their service (*f*). A squadron belonging to the parliament, and under the joint command of Blake, and Popham, arrived soon afterwards at Saint Andero, when

(*e*) Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, V. 5.—Heath's Chronicle, p. 289.—Whitlocke's Memorials.—A brief relation of some affairs, and transactions, civil, and military, both foreign and domestic, No. 10. p. 101. 103.—No. 14. p. 152.

(*f*) Clarendon's History of the Rebellion. V. 5. p. 339.—Whitlocke.—Heath.—Campbell.—Mercurius Politicus, N. 3. p. 579.—From this last publication, we learn, amongst other particulars relating to prince Rupert, that whilst he lay in the road of Toulon, in February, of the year, one thousand, six hundred, and fifty-one, soliciting leave to enter that port, with his ship, the admiral, in order to procure a mast, and other necessary repairs, having been separated from his brother, in a storm near Majorca, after the great defeat given to his ships, by Blake, the five captains of the vessels mentioned in the text, arrived there, against whom the prince was so highly incensed as to have it in consideration, to call them to an account at a council of war, for their lives, as well for their misconduct in that business, as for their having left seventy of the mariners behind them, who were unwilling to serve the parliament; and who besought them, with the utmost earnestness to suffer them to attend them to Toulon, professing to ask no more than bread and water on the journey, notwithstanding that the officers were in possession of large sums of money.

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when the former of these admirals addressed a letter, in violent language, to the king of Spain, demanding an immediate surrender of such ships, and men, serving under prince Rupert, as might be within his power, and threatening, in case of a refusal, immediately to commence hostilities. To this letter, a courteous answer was returned; and Blake received, at the same time, as a testimony of the respect paid to him by the king of Spain, a ring valued at fifteen hundred pounds (*g*). Blake now followed prince Rupert into the river of Lisbon, where, in September, and October of the year, one thousand, six hundred, and fifty, he ruined the Brazil fleet, and compelled the Portuguese to force the prince out of their port, from whence he sailed to Carthagena. Thither was he pursued by Blake, but, being obliged, for want of provisions, to put to sea, escaped to Malaga, where he made prizes of several English vessels. On his arrival, the admiral drove one of these ashore, burned two others, and obliged the prince to save himself by flight (*h*).

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(*g*) Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, V. 5. p. 339, 340.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 185.

(*h*) Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 449. 463. 470. 475. 484. 485. Heath's Chronicle, p. 267. 275.—Manley's History of the Rebellion, p. 233.—Bates's Elencus Moruum, Part 2. p. 73.—Thurloe's State Papers, V. 1.—Mercurius Politicus, No. 14. p. 221.—See two original letters of Sir Henry Vane; one to Cromwell, then at the headquarters, in Scotland; and the other to Thomas Scott, the Regicide, each dated on the twenty-eighth of December, in the year, one thousand, six hundred, and fifty, with the news of Blake's having ruined prince Rupert's fleet, and the great terror which this defeat had occasioned in the different courts of Europe, particularly those of Spain, and Portugal, both of whom, in consequence thereof, dispatched ambassadors to England, to acknowledge the Power of the parliament. The Spanish minister, at his audience,

Having once more stood out to sea, the latter cruized against the Spaniards, Genoese, and English (*i*), from whom he took several rich prizes, and then proceeded to the West-Indies, whither his brother, prince Maurice, with a small squadron, had sailed before. In those seas they also committed many daring hostilities, until prince Maurice, in the Constant Reformation, cast away (*k*), and Rupert, discovering that the few ships which he had left were so leaky, and rotten, that it was scarcely possible that they could keep the sea, prepared for his return to France, and, in the year, one thousand, six hundred, and fifty-two, arrived at the port of Nantes, with a man of war, and three other ships, which he was obliged to sell, in order that he might become enabled to pay the wages of the seamen (*l*). Such was the fate of about twenty-five large ships, the numerous crews of which had deserted with them from the service of the parliament. The reader will easily judge how great a loss the nation (engaged soon afterwards in a Dutch war) must have sustained on the occasion.

Admiral Blake, on his return to England, received the thanks of the house, and in conjunction with Dean,

audience, presented the house with a complete narrative of the loss which the prince had sustained at Carthagena.—See Nicholls's Collection of State Papers, p. 40, 41, 42.

(*i*) Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, V. 5.—Heath's Chronicle, p. 293.—Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 494.—Life of prince Rupert.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 186.

(*k*) Davies's History of the Civil Wars, p. 299.—Mansley's History of the Rebellion, p. 223.—Bates's Elencus Motuum, part 2. p. 74.—Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 430.

(*l*) Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, V. 6. p. 513. 515.—Heath's Chronicle, p. 337.—Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 552.—Thurloe's State Papers, V. 1.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 186.

Dean, and Popham, was invested with the supreme power at sea, during the year, one thousand, six hundred, and fifty-one (*m*). The first exploit suggested by the parliament was the reduction of the islands of Scilly, which were still holden for the king, by Sir John Grenville. The privateers fitted out from thence had proved extremely detrimental to the commerce of the nation, and therefore were the proper objects of the vengeance of the parliament, but there was another incident which gave them much concern, at this juncture, and this was the arrival of a Dutch Squadron there, consisting of twelve men of war, commanded by Van Tromp (*n*). The pretence of sending him was to demand satisfaction of the governour for about twenty prizes which, in a short space of time, had been carried into his ports, by his privateers; but the true design was to treat with him for the islands; a measure which, if successful, might have been attended by fatal consequences. Blake, in the *Phoenix* frigate, and in conjunction with a small fleet, commanded by Sir George Ayscue, sailed thither, in the month of May, and soon executed his commission, the governour being glad to deliver up his charge on honourable terms, and the admiral as willing to grant all which he could reasonably expect (*o*).

From

(*m*) Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 488, 489.—The thanks of the parliament, with a full approbation of their services, although not successful, on the coast of Portugal, had likewise been transmitted to Blake, and Popham, whilst at sea, in a letter from the speaker, dated from Whitehall, on the twelfth of July, in the year, one thousand, six hundred, and fifty.—Thurloe's State Papers, V. 1. p. 155.—Campbell.

(*n*) Heath's Chronicle, p. 284. 288, 289.—Davies's History of the Civil Wars, p. 326.—Manley's History of the Rebellion, p. 253.—Bates's *Elencus Motuum*, part 2.

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(*o*) The original articles, within a MS. folio of two sheets, are still preserved in the library of the society for pro-

From the islands of Scilly, Blake proceeded, with the fleet, to Jersey, and arriving there in the month of October, attacked, and intirely reduced it, previous to the conclusion of the year. He also took Cornet-Castle, the only place which held out for Charles, in Guernsey. Thus, in this quarter, was the sovereignty of the ocean secured by the squadrons of the parliament (p).

Sir George Ayscue, having reinforced his fleet with several ships, now sailed towards the West-Indies, in order to reduce such of the plantations as had declared for the king. He was accompanied by colonel Allen, a native of Barbadoes, who had been sent to demand relief from the parliament for persons in that colony, and in the leeward islands, who had opposed the royalists. On the sixteenth of October, in the year, one thousand, six hundred, and fifty-one, the fleet arrived in Carlisle-Bay, in Barbadoes, and immediately seized fourteen Dutch merchant-ships.

Francis, lord Willoughby, of Parham, whom we have already mentioned, was governour of the island, for the king, and manifested so firm a resolution to defend it, that Ayscue did not, until the seventeenth of December, attempt to disembark the forces. On this occasion, nearly forty of his men were slain; and with them, fell colonel Allen. When the troops had landed, the governour thought proper to capitulate, and obtained such fair concessions that Ayscue, on this account, became afterwards suspected by the parliament (q). Whilst he remained at Barbadoes, he sent

some propagating the Gospel in foreign parts.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, Vol. 2. p. 187.

(p) Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, V. 6. p. 465.—Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 518, 519.—Ludlow's Memoirs, V. 1. p. 343.—Davies's History of the Civil Wars, p. 326.

(q) Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 527. 531.—Ludlow's Memoirs, V. 1. p. 385.—Heath's Chronicle, p. 306.—Bates's

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some ships, under the command of captain Dennis, to reduce Virginia; an enterprize which, after slight difficulties, was attended with success. Sir George likewise subdued the leeward islands, and, having fully executed his commission, returned to Europe, soon after the commencement of the Dutch war (r).

The causes of this rupture have been differently related, in conformity to the passions, prejudices, and opinions, of different historians (s). It appears that the old commonwealth became quickly jealous of that which had arisen, and felt apprehensions that whatsoever advantages might accrue to other states, Holland was not likely to gain the least benefit by the change of government in England. On the other side, the parliament were equally anxious for the maintenance of their newly-acquired sovereignty, and expected the most extraordinary marks of regard from all the powers with which they corresponded (t). The murder of

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Bates's *Elencus Motuum*, Part 2. p. 78.—Manley's *History of the Rebellion*, p. 254.—Campbell's *Lives of the Admirals*, V. 2. p. 188.

(r) Clarendon's *History of the Rebellion*, V. 6. p. 466, 467.—Davies's *History of the Civil Wars*, p. 327.—Whitlocke's *Memorials*, p. 532. 534. 536. 542.—Thurloe's *State Papers*, V. 1. p. 197.

(s) Heath's *Chronicle*, p. 285, 286. 308. 314.—Dugdale's *short View of the late Troubles of England*, p. 402. 403.—Davies's *History of the Civil Wars*, chap. 98.—Ludlow's *Memoirs*, V. 1. p. 344, 345, 346, 388, 389.—Sir Philip Warwick's *Memoirs*, p. 363, 364.—Bates's *Elencus Motuum*, Part 2. p. 75, 76.—Manley's *History of the Rebellion*, p. 256. 262.—Coke's *Detection*, V. 2. p. 19.

(t) See the proposals made by Oliver Saint John, and Walter Strickland, ambassadors from the commonwealth to the states-general, at the Hague, dated on the tenth of May, in the year, one thousand, six hundred, and fifty-one.—Thurloe's *State Papers*, V. 1. p. 182.—Nicholls's *State Papers*,

doctor Donislaus, whom they sent in a public character to the states, had irritated them to a severe degree; nor were they less incensed at the reception given to Saint John, and the rest of their ambassadors. In this temper, they scarcely paid the least regard to the remonstrances of the Dutch, concerning their act of navigation, which was, undoubtedly, a well-concerted measure, both for preserving, and for extending the English commerce. The states were also exceedingly alarmed, when they observed that the parliament insisted on the sovereignty of the sea, on the right of fishing, and of licensing to fish, manifesting, at the same time, a disposition for carrying to its utmost height the point of saluting by the flag, and pursuing, on every occasion, so declared a conduct, that the states were convinced of their intention to act, on the plan of Charles, with this great advantage of raising money in much larger sums, and with less trouble than was experienced by that prince (u).

In the spring of the year, one thousand, six hundred, and fifty-two, matters had proceeded to the last
extre-

Papers, p. 39, 40, 41, 42.—Letters of State, and other papers, in Milton's prose works, V. 2. edit. 1753. Quarto.

—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 189.

(u) If the reader be inclined to enter deeply into the reasons on which the Dutch war was grounded, he may consult Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, V. 6. p. 457, 458, 459, 460.—Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 487, 491, 492, 495, 496.—Thurloe's State Papers, V. 1. p. 187, 195.—Heath's Chronicle, p. 314, and other writers, on one side. —For the Dutch party are Bafnage. Annales des Provinces Unies, tom. 1. p. 215, 216, 220, 221, 245, 248, 249, 250, 251, 252, 253.—Le Clerc. Histoire des Provinces Unies, tom. 2. liv. 13. p. 307, 308, 309, 310, 311, 312, 313, 314, 315.—Neuville. Histoire d'Hollande, tom. 3. p. 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61.—Lives of the Dutch Admirals.

extremity; yet it was then warmly disputed (and it hath not yet been absolutely determined) who were the aggressors. From the best comparison of facts stated in all the authentic accounts transmitted to us, by both parties, it appears probable that the first offence proceeded from the Dutch. In support of this conjecture, several reasons might be adduced; but we shall particularly insist on their great, and secret preparations for a war. It is certain that the states had one hundred, and fifty ships of force, at sea; whereas the English parliament equipped only the usual squadron (consisting of twenty-five ships, under the command of admiral Blake,) for the purpose of guarding, and protecting the narrow seas (*).

The first effusion of blood in this quarrel, was occasioned by commodore Young, who had fired on a Dutch man of war, because the captain of it withheld the payment of the customary honours to the English flag. This event took place on the fourteenth of May, in the year, one thousand, six hundred, and fifty-two, and proved extremely honourable to the nation. Young had acted with the utmost caution, and given the Dutch commander every opportunity which he could have desired of avoiding the commission of hostilities. He sent an officer to persuade him to strike, when the captain replied that the states had threatened to take off his head, if he submitted. An engagement now began, at the close of which the Dutch ship, severely damaged, was obliged to strike. Two Dutch men of war, and twelve merchantmen were at hand, yet did not interfere. When these had taken in their flags, commodore Young departed,

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(*) Heath's Chronicle, p. 314, 315.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 191.

without attempting to seize a single vessel. This transaction would have proved more the object of public notice, if an engagement of greater consequence had not happened soon afterwards (y).

The admiral Van Tromp was at sea with a fleet amounting to more than forty sail, assembled (according to report,) for the protection of the Dutch commerce. When this officer arrived, on the eighteenth of May, within the Downs, he observed a small squadron, under the command of major Bourne, to whom he sent word that he was forced thither, by stress of weather, and received for answer that the truth of this assertion would best appear by the shortness of his stay. On the nineteenth, Van Tromp, with his fleet, bore down upon Blake, in Dover road, and when he approached, the English admiral, who had received intelligence of his arrival, from Bourne, fired thrice at his flag. Van Tromp immediately returned a broadside, when hostilities commenced, and Blake almost singly maintained an engagement during four hours. At length, his fleet, taking the advantage of a favourable change of weather, came up, and supported the contest with great vigour, and resolution. When it had lasted from four, in the afternoon, until nine, at night, Bourne arrived with his eight ships, and the Dutch immediately bore away.

In this battle, the victory was clearly on the side of the English, as the Dutch writers themselves confess, there

(y) Young's letter to the parliament, dated from on board the President, in Plymouth Sound, and, on the fourteenth of May, in the year, one thousand, six hundred, and fifty-two. —Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 533.—The perfect Politician, or a full View of the Life, and Actions of Oliver Cromwell, p. 167.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 191.

there being two ships, in the service of the states, taken, and one disabled; whereas the English lost none; yet the inequality of force was great, the Dutch fleet consisting, at first, of forty-two ships, and the armament under Blake only of fifteen, and, even at the close of the action, this last officer was not assisted by more than twenty-three sail. Each of the admirals wrote to their respective masters an account of this transaction; and it must be confessed that no fact mentioned in the letter drawn up by Blake can be disproved, whilst Van Tromp either falls into mistakes, or deviates purposely from the truth, and particularly where he observes that the Squadron commanded by Bourne amounted to twelve large ships. Let it also be remarked that, although he considers Blake as the aggressor, he confesses that the Dutch flag was flying, during the whole of the engagement (z). The states themselves were so sensible of their error, and at the same time so mortified that their fleet, notwithstanding its superiority, had been successfully resisted, that they apologized for the transaction, and sent over another ambassador, the Heer Adrian Paauw, to proceed on the treaty. But, as the demands of the parliament were carried, in the opinion of the Dutch, to the most extravagant lengths, all thoughts of peace were relinquished by both parties; and, on the eighth of July, the war was proclaimed in Holland (a).

Mean while, the English, in virtue of the act of navigation, and by way of reprisal for the late da-

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(z) This account is copied from that printed by order of the parliament, with the letters, and other papers of both admirals annexed. Quarto. 1652.—Campbell.

(a) Ludlow's *Memoirs*, V. 1. p. 407.—Whitlocke's *Memorials*, p. 535.—Thurloe's *State Papers*, V. 1. p. 207, 208, 209, 210, 211, 212.—Campbell's *Lives of the Admirals*, V. 2. p. 193.

mages, affronts, and hostilities received from the states-general, and their subjects, took several Dutch Ships. On the eleventh of June, Blake brought in eleven merchantmen, with their convoy, all of which were on their passage, from Nantes. On the day following, the captains Taylor, and Peacock, in two English frigates, engaged two Dutch ships of war, near the coast of Flanders, for refusing to strike. Of these, one was taken, and the other stranded (*b*). On the thirteenth of the same month, Blake took twenty-six vessels, in the service of the Dutch merchants, with their convoys, homeward-bound, from France. On the fourth of July, vice-admiral Ayscue (who, in his late return from the reduction of Barbadoes, had taken ten merchant-ships, and four men of war,) attacked the Saint Ubes fleet, amounting to about forty sail, of which nearly thirty were either taken, or burnt, or stranded, and plundered, on the French coast.

Whilst the states, with the utmost diligence, were preparing a fleet of seventy men of war, under the command of their admiral Van Tromp, Blake, attended by sixty ships, proceeded, pursuant to his orders, towards the north, for the purpose of distressing the Dutch fisheries. Sir George Ayscue (who subsequent to the destruction of the Saint Ubes fleet, had taken five Dutch vessels, in the service of the merchants,) was left with the remainder of the English armament, consisting only of seven men of war, and stationed in the Downs. Whilst Blake triumphed in the north, Van Tromp, with his whole naval force, entered the mouth of the Thames, in hopes either of surprizing Ayscue, or

(*b*) The parliament were so pleased with the gallant behaviour of the captains Taylor, and Peacock, that they directed the speaker to write them letters of thanks, on the occasion.

of insulting the coast. Prevented from the execution of this design, he directed his course northwards, in order to intercept Blake; but his ships were dispersed by a storm, and five of his frigates were seized by Blake, on his return towards the south (c).

The people in Holland were extremely dissatisfied with the conduct of the admiral Van Tromp, which is the case, in all free countries, where a commander in chief proves unsuccessful. On this occasion, he acted wisely, and agreeably to the dictates of a nice sense of honour, first, by justifying himself to the states, and next, by laying down his commission, to gratify the people. The chief objection against him was his confined knowledge of the naval arts; and this engaged the states to cast their eyes upon De Ruyter, the ablest officer of his profession. He accepted of the command, but accepted it unwillingly, because he perceived that, as affairs were then situated, the superiority rested with the English (d). In the mean time, the parliament took care to strengthen the fleet under the command of Sir George Ayscue, so that it increased to thirty-eight sail, of which only two were large men of war, and the rest frigates, or fire-ships. With these, he put to sea, in search of the Dutch, took several rich prizes, and, at length, whilst he was cruising off Plymouth met with De Ruyter, who, attended by a fleet equal to his own, was convoying home nearly sixty vessels, in the service of the merchants. The Dutch

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(c) Basnage. *Annales des Provinces Unies*, V. 1. p. 258, 259.—Campbell's *Lives of the Admirals*, V. 2. p. 194.

(d) Clarendon's *History of the Rebellion*, V. 6. p. 461.—Whitlocke's *Memorials*, p. 538.—Ludlow's *Memoirs*, V. 1. p. 419, 420.—Davies's *History of the Civil Wars*, p. 329.—Manley's *History of the Rebellion*, p. 264.—Campbell's *Lives of the Admirals*, V. 2. p. 194.

commander took twenty of these last, into his line of battle, and was then in readiness for action. At four, in the afternoon, of the sixteenth of August, in the year, one thousand, six hundred, and fifty-two, the fight began, when Ayscue, with ten ships, charged through the Dutch fleet, and, having thus obtained the weather-gage, renewed the attack, until night. On this occasion, the remainder of the English armament was generally inactive; but most of the officers who engaged were wounded, and particularly, the vice-admiral, Peck, who lost his leg, and expired soon afterwards. The Dutch suffered extremely, and several of their best vessels were scarcely able to keep the sea. Sir George Ayscue, who had lost only one fire-ship, chased his adversaries, during a great part of the ensuing day, and, afterwards, returned to Plymouth-Sound, for the purpose of refreshing his men, and repairing his ships (e).

The Dutch drew up a particular account of this transaction, in which the English undoubtedly, reaped some advantages, and might have availed themselves of greater, if all their captains had fulfilled their duty. Of this, the parliament were convinced; but, by a refined stroke of policy, chose rather to ascribe the fault to a single man, than endanger the obedience of the fleet, by punishing a number. On this principle, they dismissed that gallant seaman, Sir George Ayscue, yet

(e) Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 541, 542.—Sir Philip Warwick's Memoirs, p. 365.—Bates's Elencus Motuum, Part 2, p. 175.—Coke's Detection, V. 2. p. 15.—Le Clerc. tom. 2. p. 322.—Neuville. tom. 3. liv. 10. chap. 10.—La Vie, et les Actions memorables du Sieur Michel de Ruyter, Duc, Chevalier, et l'Amiral General des Provinces Unies. Amsterdam, 1677. Partie 1. p. 9, 10, 11, 12.

yet gently, and with a reward of three hundred pounds in money, and a pension of three hundred pounds a year. These were paid with the most rigid punctuality; notwithstanding that the disgust conceived against Ayscue for having granted to the Lord Willoughby such favourable terms, was one chief cause of his removal (f).

The war was no longer confined to the coasts of Britain, but spread itself almost into every sea; and each wind brought the news of fresh destruction, and slaughter. Towards the conclusion of the same month, the Dutch admiral, Van Galen, with eleven ships of war, intercepted, and attacked the English commodore, Richard Bodley, attended by three men of war, a fire-ship, and three merchantmen, homeward-bound, from Scanderoon, and Smyrna. The first engagement began in the afternoon, off the island of Elba, on the coast of Tuscany, and lasted until night, when no considerable advantage had been gained by either party. The Dutch historians assert that three of their men of war, being separated in the night, and afterwards becalmed, could not come up so as to have a share in the second engagement. On the other side, the English departed from their merchantmen, which being heavy, and richly laden, were ordered to proceed, with all possible expedition, to the nearest harbour.

The next morning, the four remaining English ships were vigorously attacked by the eight Hollanders, and returned the assault with great fury. Van Galen, at first, closely engaged Bodley, but, being disabled in his rigging, and having received three shots under water, and been thrice on fire, he was forced (as the Dutch historians acknowledge,) to sheer off. Another

(f) Heath's Chronicle, p. 323.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 196.

of the largest Dutch ships renewing the attack, was so violently assailed, that she lost her main-mast. Immediately the English frigate, the *Phoenix*, boarded the disabled Hollander, but, being too weak, was taken, after a sharp fight, during a full hour, wherein most of her men were either killed, or wounded. Mean while Bodley, being again boarded by two of the Dutch ships at once, defended himself so resolutely, that they were beaten off with a dreadful slaughter of their men, and the loss of both their captains (g). When the enemy retreated, Bodley, with the three remaining ships, (on board of which an hundred men had been either killed, or wounded,) followed the merchantmen to Porto Longone, where the Dutch soon afterwards arrived, and buried three of their captains, who had been slain during the engagement. In this neutral harbour, the adverse fleets rode peaceably together, for a considerable space of time (h).

Admiral Blake, who was now in the channel, severely annoyed the enemy; and, as some hostilities had been committed on the coast of Newfoundland, by the French, attacked a formidable squadron of their ships, which were proceeding to the relief of Dunkirk, and either took, or destroyed them all; in consequence of which victory that important place fell into the hands of the Spaniards (i). The Dutch perceiving that their

(g) This fact is affirmed by their own historians.

(h) Sir Philip Warwick's *Memoirs*, p. 365.—Coke's *De-rection*, V. 2. p. 15, 16.—Manley's history of the Rebellion, part 2. book 2. p. 266.—Bafnage, *Annales des Provinces Unies*, tom. 1. p. 263.—Neuville. *Histoire d'Hollande*, tom. 4. p. 65, 66.—Thurloe's *State-Papers*, V. 1. p. 219.—Campbell's *Lives of the Admirals*, V. 2. p. 197.

(i) Clarendon's history of the Rebellion, V. 6. p. 463.—Heath's *Chronicle*, p. 325.—Davies's history of the civil war,

their commerce was thus almost irrecoverably destroyed, and alarmed at the approach of greater evils, equipped another fleet, the command of which was given to De Wit, who received orders to join De Ruyter, the officer appointed to convoy, homewards, a large number of vessels in the service of the merchants. When the two fleets had united, and attended the trading ships to their respective ports, the admirals expressed a determination to attack the English navy, and Blake afforded them a proper opportunity of carrying it into execution. Yet when the former expected, and had prepared for the commencement of hostilities, the Dutch covered themselves behind a sandbank; a circumstance which did not prevent Blake from engaging them, on the twenty-eighth of September.

He divided his fleet into three squadrons, of which the first was commanded by himself, the second by vice-admiral Penn, and the third by rear-admiral Bourne. At three, in the afternoon, the fight began, when the English

wars, p. 329, 330.—Basnage. *Annales des Provinces Unies*, tom. 2. p. 264.—*Memoires de Montglat*, tom. 3. p. 321, 322.—Martiniere. *Histoire de Louis XIV.* tom. 2. p. 215.—The count d'Estrades, (*Memoirs*, tom. 1.) in a letter addressed to cardinal Mazarine, and dated from Dunkirk, on the fifth of February, in the year, one thousand, six hundred, and fifty-two, informs his eminence that Cromwel had made him an offer, by one Fitz-James, a colonel of his guards, to furnish fifty men of war; to join the king's army with fifteen thousand foot; to pay two millions; and to declare war against Spain, if they would surrender Dunkirk to him rather than to the Spaniards, which proposal the cardinal approved, as appears by his answer to the count, (dated from Poitiers, on the second of the succeeding month of March,) and which (as he observes,) would have been accepted, if monsieur de Chateaufort had not opposed it so violently that the queen could not be induced to give her consent.

English were rendered sensible of their temerity, in engaging under such insuperable disadvantages. The Sovereign, a new ship, and several others struck instantly on the sands, but being extricated, stood farther out to sea, when De Wit, disdaining the security of his station, bore down in readiness for a fairer contest, which was begun by Bourne, and seconded as gallantly by the remainder of the fleet. A Dutch man of war attempting to board the Sovereign was sunk, at the first broadside; and, soon afterwards, two other ships shared the same fate, whilst a third (the rear-admiral,) was taken by captain Mildmay. When De Wit perceived that a fourth vessel had been blown up, he prepared to sheer off, and was pursued by the English fleet, until the close of evening. At day-break, they continued the chase, and until they had sailed within twelve leagues of the Dutch shore, when, perceiving that the adverse fleet had entered Goree, Blake, and his brave associates, returned in triumph to the Downs, and from thence into the harbour; having lost nearly three hundred men (A). Such also appeared the number of the wounded, and for the reception of these, the parliament (who had already sent letters of thanks to the admiral, and his officers,) took care to provide hospitals, near Deal, and Dover (I).

On this occasion, the Dutch historians observe that none of the ships belonging to the States were lost. They, notwithstanding, admit that one was taken; but

(A) Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 545, 546.—Davies's history of the civil wars of Great Britain, and Ireland, p. 330.—Ludlow's Memoirs, V. 1. p. 426, 427.—Coke's Detection, V. 2. p. 16.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 199.

(I) Heath's Chronicle, p. 327.

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but add that this vessel, being afterwards deserted, was brought safely into the harbour. De Wit fairly confessed the loss, and charged it, first, on the criminal behaviour of no less than twenty of his captains, who withdrew out of the line of battle; and, next, on the false intelligence received by the States; the English fleet being more numerous, and composed of ships of greater bulk than he expected. These excuses were certainly just, and yet the popular clamours were exerted so severely against the admirals, that De Ruyter became desirous of resigning his commission, and De Wit, a prey to grief, fell into a dangerous, and lingering illness. In the space of six weeks, the States, with equal prudence, and resolution, repaired, and augmented their fleet to eighty sail, the command of which was given to Van Tromp, who (if we can rely on the assertions of some historians,) was reinstated by the interest of the king of Denmark, from which potentate the Hollanders received, on this condition, a promise of being supplied with a formidable squadron of his own ships (*m*).

This prince had very unadvisedly engaged himself in a quarrel with the parliament, by detaining (at the request of the Dutch,) a fleet of twenty English ships in the harbour of Copenhagen. At first he pretended that he had embraced this measure from a regard for their own safety, and, therefore, commodore Ball was sent, with a squadron of eighteen sail, to convoy them home, when the king of Denmark declared his resolution to keep them, and the fear which he was under, for the consequences of this strange, and inconsiderate step,

(*m*) Bagnage. Annales des Provinces Unies. tom. 1. p. 260, 261.—Le Clerc. Histoire des Provinces Unies, tom. 2. p. 323, 324.—La Vie de Ruyter, partie 1. p. 15.—Coke's Detection, V. 2. p. 16.

step, induced him to offer his assistance to the Dutch. This circumstance proved favourable to the latter, as the English had filled their ports with prizes taken from the States, who, thus severely suffering, were eager to avail themselves of the assistance of a foreign power, and, in haste, directed Tromp to sail with the men of war, for the purpose of convoying a fleet of about three hundred merchantmen through the channel (a).

It being now the beginning of November, Blake, who imagined that the season of action was passed, had detached twenty of his ships for the security of the Newcastle colliers. Twelve more were sent to Plymouth, and fifteen retired into the river, in order to repair the damage which they had sustained, during a storm. Van Tromp, having received intelligence of these proceedings, and that Blake was attended only by thirty-seven ships, most of which were thinly manned, resolved to attack him in the Downs, not far from the place where he had engaged before (o). On the twenty-ninth of November, he presented himself before the English fleet, and Blake, after having assembled a council of war, resolved to commence hostilities, notwithstanding the superior numbers of the enemy; but, the wind rising, he was obliged to defer fighting, until the next day, previous to which his ship rode not far above Dover-Road. In the morning, both fleets plied Westward, and Blake preserved the weather-gage.

(a) Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 545, 546.—Davies's history of the civil wars, p. 330.—Bates's Elenus Motium, part 2. p. 174.—Ludlow's Memoirs, V. 1. p. 129.—Manley's history of the rebellion, p. 266.—Bafnage Annales des Provinces Unies, tom. 1. p. 289, 290.—Neuville. Histoire d'Hollande, tom. 13. p. 68.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 200.

(o) Heath's Chronicle, p. 229, 230.—Ludlow's Memoirs, V. 2. p. 437, 438.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 201.

ther-gage. At eleven, the fight began with great fury, but, unfortunately, only half of the small fleet belonging to the English could proceed to action. The *Triumph*, on board of which the admiral commanded, the *Victory*, and the *Vanguard*, sustained almost the whole fire of the enemy, being attacked by twenty men of war at once; yet they fought until the close of evening. Towards the conclusion of the battle, the *Bonaventure*, commanded by captain Hookston; and the *Garland*, commanded by captain Batten, clapped Van Tromp aboard, killed his secretary, and purser, by his side, and had certainly taken his ship, if they had not been boarded by two Dutch flags, in consequence of which, after the deaths of the captains, both the English vessels were obliged to strike. Blake, who beheld this circumstance with indignation, pushed so far to their relief that he would probably have shared the same fate, if the *Vanguard*, and *Sapphire* had not effectually assisted, and, at length, brought the *Triumph* clear off (p). The *Hercules* was run ashore during the retreat; and, unless the night had sheltered them, most of the ships that came to action must have been lost; but taking the advantage of the darkness, they sailed first to Dover, and from thence into the river.

Admiral Van Tromp, having remained during the space of at least a day within the Downs, proceeded towards Calais, took part of the Barbadoes fleet, together with several prizes, and then sailed to the isle of Rhee, bearing a broom at the top-mast-head, to intimate that he would sweep the English vessels from the surface of the narrow seas (q). There appears not, how-

(p) Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 551.—Coke's Detection, V. 2. p. 16, 17.—Davies's history of the civil wars, p. 330, 331.

(q) Basnage. Annales des Provinces Unies, tom. 1. p. 261.—Le Clerc. Histoire des Provinces Unies, tom. 2. p.

however, such reason for boasting as the Dutch writers would suggest. Their fleet indeed enjoyed several advantages, yet they bought their success extremely dear, one of their best vessels being blown up, and two of their admiral-ships almost intirely disabled (r).

The parliament evinced their steadiness by caring for Blake, after his defeat, and appointing him, in conjunction with Deane, and Monk, their general at sea, for the ensuing year. In order that the navy might the more speedily be manned, they issued a proclamation, offering considerable rewards to such as entered themselves within the space of forty days; and they also increased the wages of the sailors, from nineteen, to twenty-four shillings, a month. This measure was attended by the most salutary effects, and previous to the expiration of six weeks, a large armament was in readiness to put to sea, forty ships having been stationed, with Blake, in the river, and twenty more at Portsmouth. On the eleventh of February, both fleets joined near Beachy-Head, and thence, admiral Blake sailed overagainst Portland, where he lay across the channel, in order to receive Van Tromp, at his return. This transaction astonished the Dutch admiral, who did not conclude it possible that the parliament could, after the late defeat, have equipped a naval force, sufficiently numerous, and powerful, to oppose his armament, with which, attended by two hundred, and fifty merchant-men, under convoy, he sailed up the channel, and found Blake so stationed as to deprive him of the power of avoiding an engagement. The English, and Dutch historians have differed widely in their accounts

324, 325.—Neuville. *Histoire d'Hollande*, tom. 3. p. 69,
70.—Campbell's *Lives of the Admirals*, V. 2. p. 202.
(r) Heath's *Chronicle*, p. 330.—Coke's *Detection*, V. 2.
p. 17.—Eckard's *history of England*, book 3. cap. 1.
p. 701.

counts concerning the strength of their respective fleets; but from the letters of the admirals, it may be inferred that they were nearly equal, each amounting to about twenty sail (s).

The generals Blake, and Deane, were both on board of the *Triumph*, and, with twelve stout ships, led their fleet, and fell in first with the Dutch, on the eighteenth of February, in the year, one thousand, six hundred, and fifty-three, at about eight in the morning. They were most violently assaulted before the rest of the ships came up, although gallantly seconded by Lawson, in the *Fairfax*, and Mildmay, in the *Vanguard*. On board of the *Triumph*, Blake was wounded in the thigh, by a piece of iron which had been discharged from a cannon, and which, afterwards, tore the coat, and breeches of general Deane. Captain Ball, who commanded the ship, was shot dead, and fell at the feet of Blake. His secretary, Mr. Sparrow, was, likewise, killed, whilst he was receiving orders. Exclusive of these, an hundred seamen were slain, and most of the rest severely wounded. The *Triumph* was so extremely shattered as to have been rendered unable to bear any considerable part in the action of the two succeeding days (t).

On board of the *Fairfax*, which was much damaged, an hundred men were killed. The *Vanguard* also lost her captain, and numbers of the crew. The *Prosperous*, mounting forty guns, was boarded, and taken

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- (s) Clarendon's history of the Rebellion, V. 6. p. 464.—Davies's history of the Civil Wars, p. 331.—Ludlow's Memoirs, V. 2. p. 439.—Coke's Detection, V. 2. p. 17.—Basnage. *Annales des Provinces Unies*, Tom. 1. p. 298.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 203.
(t) Heath's Chronicle, p. 335.—Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 551.—Echard.—Rapin.—Campbell.

by De Ruyter; but, as his own vessel was, in that moment, boarded by an English man of war, captain Vefey, in the Merlin frigate, entered the Prosperous, and retook her. The Assistance, vice-admiral of the blue squadron, was disabled at the commencement of the action, and brought off to Portsmouth, whither the Advice quickly followed her, being no longer able to keep the sea. Van Tromp who, during a considerable space of time, engaged Blake, lost most of his officers, and his ship was so shattered as to become unfit for service. De Ruyter lost his main, and fore-top-mast, and very narrowly escaped being taken. One Dutch man of war was blown up; six more were either sunk, or fell into the hands of the English; and the rigging of these was so clotted with blood, and brains, that it was impossible to behold them, without horror (*u*).

The night of Friday was spent in repairing the damages, and making the necessary disposition for a second engagement. On Saturday morning, the enemy was again observed, seven leagues off Weymouth, whither the English plyed, and came up with them in the afternoon, about three leagues to the north-west of the Isle of Wight. Van Tromp had drawn his fleet together, and ranged it in the form of a half-moon, inclosing the merchant-ships within a semi-circle, and, in that position, he maintained a retreating fight. The English made several desperate attacks, striving to break through, and seize the merchantmen. At length, these last, perceiving that De Ruyter's ship, severely damaged, had been towed out of the fleet, and that they could no longer be protected, made ready for their departure,

(*u*) Heath's Chronicle, p. 337.—Basnage. Annales des Provinces Unies, V. 1. p. 300.—Le Clerc. Tom. 2. Liv. 13.—Neuville, tom. 2. Liv. 10. chap. 10.

parture, and, in order that they might sail with greater expedition, cast a considerable part of their cargo into the sea. From the letter written by Blake, we learn that the engagement lasted during the whole night, and that eight men of war, and fourteen merchant-ships were taken from the enemy (x).

On Sunday morning, the Dutch were near Boulogne, and the battle was renewed, although no material advantages were gained by either party. Van Tromp had sheered off, in the dark, with his merchantmen, to Calais Sands, where he anchored, that day, with forty sail. Availing himself of favourable winds, and of the tides, he proceeded homewards, the English fleet pursuing, but slowly; for Blake, although he did not fear his adversaries, yet judged it prudent to avoid their shallow coasts. The captains Lawson, Marten, and Graver, notwithstanding took, each, a Dutch ship of war, and Penn seized several of their merchantmen. On the whole, Van Tromp, and his associates triumphed at the close of the first engagement, were deprived, during the second day, of those advantages which they had gained, and, in the third action, were exposed to an absolute defeat. Although their own accounts make mention but of nine, yet it is certain that they lost eleven men of war, and thirty merchantmen, and that fifteen hundred men were killed, and an equal number wounded. The English preserved their whole fleet, except the Sampson, which, being disabled, was deserted by captain Button, and the crew, and, soon afterwards, sunk. The number of men lost was nearly equal to that of the Dutch (y).

X 2

It

(x) Davies's history of the Civil Wars, p. 331.—Coke's Detection, V. 2. p. 17.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 205.

(y) Heath's Chronicle, p. 335.—Bafnage. Annales des Provinces Unies, tom. 1. p. 301 —La Vie de Ruyter, V. 1. p. 22,

It is remarkable that, in this fight, Blake, who had been long a land officer, made use of a large body of soldiers, whose bravery, and good conduct, answered his most sanguine expectations; yet it is observed that this precedent will only serve for wars similar to that in which he was engaged, when the troops, not suffered to languish in inactivity, were called to battle almost from the moment that they arrived on board. The nation contributed with equal chearfulness, and liberality, to the relief of the wounded seamen; and the Dutch, on their side, rewarded Van Tromp, yet not beyond his merit, for the gallantry which he had displayed (z).

Meanwhile, the naval force in the service of the parliament, proved less fortunate in the Streights, where an English, and a Dutch squadron lay together in the road to Leghorn. An action happened there which deserves to be related, as it will discover as much true bravery, and maritime skill in the English officers as ever rendered a victory conspicuous. It is the province of an historian to celebrate merit rather than success (a).

Commo-

p. 22, 23, 24, 25, 36, 27, 28, 29, 30.—Holland's Mercurius Van Het Jaar. 1653. p. 44.

(z) Heath's Chronicle, p. 335.—The States presented Van Tromp with a gold chain, valued at two thousand guilders. Evertson, and De Ruyter were gratified with fifteen hundred guilders each, and less gratuities were bestowed on other officers.—Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 553.

(a) Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V 2. p. 206. The English squadron under commodore Appleton consisted of six ships, the names, and force of which, were as follow:

Ships.	Guns.	Men.
The Leopard	52	180
Bonaventure	44	150
Sampson	36	90
		The

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Commodore Appleton, being at anchor near the Dutch, availed himself of the advantages of his situation, and sent three boats, manned with resolute seamen, and commanded by captain Cox, for the purpose of recovering the ship *Phoenix*, which had been taken from the English, in the action near Elba, and which, at this time, made a part of the Squadron belonging to the enemy. On the twenty-sixth of November, the year, one thousand, six hundred, and fifty-two, the *Phoenix* was boarded by the English, when the Dutch were so surprized that they made but little resistance, and young Van Tromp, who commanded her, was forced to leap into the water, to avoid being taken. This action was performed with such expedition that, before the Dutch, who lay next to her, were well apprized of what had happened, she was conveyed off. The great duke of Tuscany, when informed of the particulars, declared that the enterprize was a violation of the neutrality of that port, and ordered the English either to restore the *Phoenix*, or to depart immediately. To depart was dangerous; for, Van Galen, with the whole strength of the enemy, in those seas, consisting of sixteen men of war, a fire-ship, and several stout merchantmen, (the crews of which were offered a share of the booty, if they would engage,) lay ready, before the harbour, to intercept them (*b*).

X 3

The

Ships.	Guns.	Men.
The Levant-Merchant	28	60
Pilgrim	30	70
Mary	30	70

(*b*) Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 552.—Coke's Detection, V. 2. p. 16.—Manley's history of the Rebellion, p. 269.—Heath's Chronicle, p. 330, 331.—The grand-duke, by his letters, of the seventh, and ninth of December, in the year, one thousand, six hundred, and fifty-two, and more at large

The

The English rather chose to run all hazards than to deliver up the ship. With this resolution, they immediately sent advice to commodore Bodley, who lay at the island of Elba, with two men of war, a fire-ship, and four merchantmen which were in the former engagement with Van Galen. It was soon afterwards agreed between the two commanders that Bodley, with his small squadron (although unfit for action, partly from the loss of men in the late fight, and partly on account of the merchant-ships, under their convoy, which were laden with fifteen hundred Bales of silk, and other valuable goods,) should appear about the time fixed upon, within sight of Leghorn, in order to amuse the Dutch, and thereby, if possible, to draw them from before the harbour, and thus open a passage for Appleton to escape. Pursuant

large, by Signor Almeric Salvetti, his minister in England, complained loudly of the violation of his port, and the behaviour of Appleton on the occasion, and insisted on a proper satisfaction. The parliament were so highly offended at the misconduct of the commodore, that they referred the whole matter to the council of state, who sent immediate orders to him to return home by land, without the least delay. They also wrote a most obliging answer to the grand duke which bears date on the fourteenth of the same month, and which they dispatched on purpose, by an express, testifying their great concern at the event, and assuring him that such a course should be taken with the commodore, as would sufficiently manifest to all the world that they could not less brook the violation of his right, than the infringement of their own authority, which had been trampled upon, in this instance, contrary to those repeated commands to their chief officers, and captains arriving in his ports, which was to carry themselves with the most respectful observance possible. And, relatively to the ship *Phoenix*, they promised that after an audience granted to Appleton, and a farther conference with the Tuscan resident, they will pronounce such a sentence as shall be agreeable to justice, and Equity.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 208.

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suant to this agreement, Bodley, on the second of March, in the year, one thousand, six hundred, and fifty-three, arrived within sight of the place. On the third, he caused three, or four of his best sailers to approach the enemy, who were stationed before the port; whereupon the whole Squadron (as was expected,) stood out to sea, and gave them chace. In the moment that Appleton observed this proceeding, he weighed anchor, and got under sail; but his operations were too rapid, and the Dutch, suspecting his design, immediately gave over the chace, and, tacking about, fell upon the Squadron, with nine of their men of war, whilst the rest observed the motions of Bodley.

At the first encounter, an unfortunate shot, from the ship commanded by Van Galen, set fire to the Bonaventure, which, blew up, although not unrevenged, for, at the same time, the ball of the piece discharged by one of the English, on board of the last vessel, shattered the leg of Van Galen so severely, that he expired, soon afterwards. Meanwhile, Appleton was attacked by two of the Hollanders at once, against whom he maintained a close fight, during five hours, with such resolution, that both the Dutch ships were, at length, so disabled, that they scarcely fired a shot. Van Galen employed the last remains of life in attempts to assist his Squadron, and was in great danger from a fire-ship belonging to the division under the command of Bodley.

At this juncture, the Hollanders who were engaged with Appleton, being reinforced by another ship, renewed the attack with greater vigour. Several Dutch historians have remarked that Appleton, perceiving himself oppressed by such unequal numbers, after having made all possible resistance, ran down, and would have blown up his ship, but that, being hin-

dered by his seamen, he was obliged to yield. The young Van Tromp, attacking the Sampson, was beaten off, after a desperate engagement, but the Sampson was soon afterwards burnt by a fire-ship. The Levant Merchant being encountered by one of the vessels in the service of the enemy, beat her off, and stranded her. But, being at length taken, together with the Pilgrim, (which had lost her main, and mizen-masts in the fight,) the Mary, left alone, escaped, and joined the nearest ships in the squadron, under the command of Bodley. Thus ended the engagement (c).

Adhering to the opinion of Mr. Campbell, we must remind the reader that before we can regularly return to the events of the war nearer home, it is absolutely necessary to take notice of the great change made in the civil government, by Cromwell, who, on the twentieth of April, in the year one thousand, six hundred, and fifty-three, entered the house of commons, and dissolved the parliament, by force (d). The historian (e) remarks that the action, stupendous in itself, appears to have stricken too many of our own, and of foreign writers with a want of discernment.

Ho

(c) Heath's Chronicle, p. 337.—Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 551, 552, 553.—Basnage. Annales des Provinces Unies. This writer informs us that the body of admiral Van Galen was transported into Holland, and buried at Amsterdam, where a magnificent monument was erected to his memory, at the expence of the states.

(d) Clarendon's history of the Rebellion, V. 6. p. 478.—Ludlow's Memoirs, V. 2. p. 456.—Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 554.—Bates's Elencus Motuum, part 1. p. 161.—Sir Philip Warwick's Memoirs, p. 367.—Dugdale's short view of the troubles of England, p. 405.—Bulstrode's Memoirs, p. 194.

(e) Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 210.

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He adds, that they attributed to Cromwell whatsoever was done after the murder of the king; and the Dutch historians particularly impute this war to him, and, amongst other reasons for his dissolving the parliament, make this to have been one; that he suspected that they were inclined to peace (*f*), whereas, in truth, two governments were never less alike, than those of the parliament, and the protector. The former acted upon national principles; the latter from private views. The Dutch war was the war of the parliament, begun upon the old quarrel, which Charles would have prosecuted, had he enjoyed the power. It must be confessed that Cromwell carried on the war, but it was only until he could make such a peace as served his purposes; and the noble historian hath justly remarked that it was the proceeding of the parliament, who persisted in carrying on the war, which compelled Cromwell to act sooner than he would have done, from a foresight that if they once conquered their foreign enemies, they would not so easily be overturned at home, by their own creatures (*g*).

It is granted that the Dutch did not instantly receive any great benefit from the sudden revolution, but let us remark that the chief officers of the fleet concurred in the measure. The government of the parliament (howsoever their authority might have been acquired,) was a government of order, and of laws; the government of the general, who became afterwards protector,

(*f*) Basnage. *Annales des Provinces Unies*, V. 1. p. 303. This same error runs through all the Dutch historians.

(*g*) Clarendon's history of the Rebellion, (V. 6. p. 464.) where he proves that Cromwell was never heartily inclined to the Dutch war, and (p. 476) where he investigates the causes which hastened him in the execution of his project.

protector, was intirely military. It is not, therefore, a matter of surprize that both the navy, and the army were satisfied with his conduct (*h*). From this change of administration, the enemy derived some advantages. Van Tromp convoyed a large fleet of merchantmen to the North (for they were now forced to follow that passage, rather than sail along the channel,) and, although the English fleet chased him to the height of Aberdeen, yet it answered no purpose; and he not only eluded their pursuit, but returned in safety to the Downs, taking several prizes, and next, discharging his ordnance against Dover Castle (*i*). This scene of triumph lasted but a single week. Van Tromp arrived before the last place, on the twenty-sixth of May, and, at the conclusion of the month, received intelligence of the approach of Monk, and Deane, with the squadrons under their command, consisting all together of ninety-five sail of men of war, and five fire-ships (*k*). The Dutch armament amounted to ninety-eight men of war, and six fire-ships; and, at the head of both fleets, were officers the most celebrated for conduct, and resolution, in either navy, so that it was generally conceived that an engagement must prove decisive,

In

(*h*) Heath's Chronicle, p. 339, 340.—Warwick's Memoirs compared with Whitlocke.—Cromwell received the most flattering addresses from almost every part of the united kingdom, when he dissolved the parliament; but no persons appeared more cordial in their congratulations, or professed greater submission than the officers of the army, and Navy.—Davies's history of the Civil Wars, p. 333.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 211.

(*i*) Clarendon's history of the Rebellion, V. 6. p. 487.—Davies's history of the Civil Wars, p. 336.—Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 556, 557.

(*k*) Heath's Chronicle, p. 334.

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In the morning of the second of June, the English approached, and, immediately, with great fury, attacked the enemy. The action began about eleven o'clock, and the first broadside from the Dutch carried off the gallant admiral Deane, whose body was almost cut in two by a chain-shot. Monk, with great presence of mind, cast his cloak over the body; and, on this occasion, appeared the wisdom of having both admirals on board of the same ship (*l*); for, as no flag was taken in, the fleet did not receive the least notice of the accident, but the fight continued with the same warmth as if it had not happened. The blue squadron charged through the enemy, and, once, rear-admiral Lawson was on the point of taking the ship commanded by the Dutch officer, De Ruyter. Even after he was obliged to quit his own ship, he sunk another, (carrying forty-two guns,) the captain of which was named Buller. The action continued very hot, until three o'clock, when the Dutch fell into great confusion, and Van Tromp was reduced to the necessity of maintaining a kind of running fight, until nine in the evening, at which time a powerful vessel, commanded by Cornelius Van Velsen, blew up. This calamity increased the consternation of the Hollanders; and, although Van Tromp used every method in his power to oblige the officers to do their duty, and even fired on such ships as drew out of the line, his proceedings served rather to augment, than lessen their defection. In the night-time, Blake joined the English fleet, with a squadron of eighteen ships, and thus bore a part in the action of the second day (*m*).

On

(*l*) Gumble's Life of general Monk.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 212.

(*m*) Clarendon's history of the Rebellion, V. 6. p. 487.
—Whitlocke's Memorial, p. 557.—Ludlow's Memoirs, V. 2.

On the morrow, Van Tromp embraced every measure, consistent with his honour, to avoid engaging, but, at eight in the forenoon, the English fleet approached, and attacked the Hollanders with great fury. During the space of four hours, the battle lasted without intermission; and vice-admiral Penn boarded Van Tromp twice, and had taken him, if he had not been seasonably relieved by De Wit, and De Ruyter. At length, the Dutch fell again into confusion, and an absolute flight ensued, when they sought a shelter on the flat coast of Newport, from whence, with great difficulty, they escaped to Zealand. From the accounts of our own historians, we learn that six of the best ships in the service of the States were sunk, two blown up, and eleven taken; and that six also of their principal captains, and upwards of fifteen hundred men were made prisoners. Amongst the ships, was a vice, and two rear-admirals (*). The Dutch writers, indeed, confess only to the loss of eight men of war. On the side of the English, the sole officers of

V. 2. p. 466.—Coke's Detection, V. 2. p. 34.—Davies's history of the Civil Wars, p. 337.—Monk's letter, printed in the proceedings of the parliament, called by the authority of general Cromwell, in the year, one thousand, six hundred, and fifty-three, p. 27.—Thurloe's State Papers, V. 1. p. 269.

(*) Heath's Chronicle, p. 345.—Sir Philip Warwick's Memoirs, p. 366.—Manley's history of the Rebellion, p. 267.—Bates's Elencus Motuum, part 2.—Gumble's Life of Monk, p. 60, 61.—See Van Tromp's letter to the States, in Thurloe's State Papers, V. 1. p. 270.—Consult also letters sent by the States, to their ministers, at foreign courts, and dated from the Hague, on the sixteenth of June, in the year, one thousand, six hundred, and fifty-three. Thurloe's State Papers, p. 273.—Mercurius Politicus, No. 158. p. 2516, 2517.—Echard, p. 705.—Kennett, V. 3. p. 208.—Rapin.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 214.

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of distinction slain were admiral Deane, and one captain. Of the private men, but few fell, and not a ship was missing; so that a more compleat victory could scarcely be obtained, or, perhaps, desired. Be it, also, observed that the ships belonging to the enemy were now blocked up in their ports, and that the approach of a formidable, and adverse fleet had this farther bad consequence, that it excited domestic tumults. It cannot, therefore, appear extraordinary that the Dutch, whilst under such circumstances, sent ambassadors into England, to negotiate a peace, on any terms (o). These Cromwell received with great haughtiness, addressed them in high terms; and assumed to himself the reputation of former victories, in which he bore but an inconsiderable part, but which, at this juncture, he, with deep policy, converted to his own advantage (p).

The States were, notwithstanding, far from trusting intirely to negotiations, but, at the period when they treated, laboured, with the utmost diligence, to repair their past losses, and to equip a new fleet. This task was extremely difficult; and, in order to effect it, they were

(o) Basnage. *Annales des Provinces Unies*, V. 1. p. 308, 309.—Le Clerc. *Annales Historiques des Provinces Unies*, tom. 2. Liv. 13.—Neuville. *Histoire d'Hollande*, tom. 3. Liv. 10. chap. 11, 12.—La Vie de Ruyter, part 1. p. 30.—Innumerable letters, in the first volume of the State Papers, collected by Thurloe, describe the great uneasiness which the Dutch were under, when they perceived their ports blocked up; and they likewise contain accounts of popular tumults, the consequences of this event, and of the great pains taken by the minister from the States in England, for the purpose of accomplishing the conclusion of a peace. See p. 293, 294, 295. 307. 315, 316, 317, 318. 324. 340, 341.

(p) Clarendon's history of the Rebellion, V. 6. p. 487, 488. Basnage. *Annales des Provinces Unies*, V. 1. p. 311. Campbell's *Lives of the Admirals*, V. 2. p. 215.

were forced to raise the wages of the seamen, although their commerce was at a full stop. They came down in person to their forts, saw their men embark, paid them previous to their entrance into the service, and promised that if they would engage once more, they never should be desired to assist again (*q*).

Yet even these measures would scarcely have proved successful, if the indefatigable attention of De Witt, in the equipment of the newly-constructed vessels, and the skill, vigilance, and liberality of Van Tromp (who, whilst he repaired the old ships, by order of the States, gave every bounteous encouragement to the seamen,) had not contributed more than any circumstance whatsoever to the setting out of a fresh fleet, in the latter end of July, consisting of more than ninety ships; a warlike preparation, which then excited wonder, and now is scarcely credible. These were victualled for five months, and intended by the States to block up the English ports, and, thus, oblige the squadrons of a powerful enemy to retire from the harbours of the Dutch. Yet it was resolved that Van Tromp should sail to the mouth of the Texel, where De Ruyter, with twenty-five sail of powerful ships, was shut in by the English fleet, in order to try if they might not be provoked to leave their station, and give the Dutch squadron an opportunity of coming out (*r*).

On the twenty-ninth of July, in the year, one thousand, six hundred, and fifty-three, the Dutch fleet appeared

(*q*) Heath's Chronicle, p. 346.—Thurloe's State Papers, V. 1. p. 301. 307. 325. 367.

(*r*) Bafnage. Annales des Provinces Unies, tom. 1. p. 308. 312.—Le Clerc. Histoire des Provinces Unies, tom. 2. Liv. 13. p. 334.—Neuville. Histoire d'Hollande, tom. 3. chap. 13.—Clarendon's history of the Rebellion, V. 6. p. 486.—Thurloe's State-Papers, V. 1. p. 359. 364. 392.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 216.

peared in sight of the English, who exerted every endeavour for the purpose of engaging them, but, Van Tromp, having in view the release of De Wit, rather than a battle, remained at so considerable a distance that it was seven at night before General Monk, in the Resolution, and, attended by about thirty ships of different rates, came up with him, and charged through his whole fleet. As it grew dark soon afterwards, all hostilities ceased for the remainder of the night, Monk sailing to the South, and Van Tromp to the Northward, which last motion not being suspected by the English, he not only joined the squadron commanded by De Wit, but obtained the Weather-Gage (1). The day following proved hazy, and tempestuous, nor was it possible, whilst the waves were violently agitated by the wind, that the fleets could not come to action. The English, in particular, found it difficult to avoid running on the coasts belonging to the enemy (2).

On Sunday, the thirty-first of July, the weather became favourable, and the English, and Dutch engaged with great fury. The battle lasted during, at least, eight hours, and was more violently fought than any throughout the whole war. The Dutch fire-ships were managed with great dexterity, and, by them, many of the large vessels in the English fleet were in the utmost danger of perishing. The Triumph was so effectually fired that most of her company cast themselves into the sea; and yet those few who remained on board

(1) Heath's Chronicle, p. 346, 347.—Proceedings of the parliament, A. D. 1653. p. 28.—Clarendon's history of the Rebellion, V. 6. p. 488.—Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 562.

(2) Heath's Chronicle, p. 347.—Davies's history of the civil wars, p. 347.—Gumble's Life of Monk.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 216.

board were so fortunate as to extinguish the flames (u). Lawfon violently attacked De Ruyter, killed, and wounded more than half of his men, and so disabled his ship that it was towed out of the fleet; yet the admiral did not quit the scene of action, but returned in a galliot, and went on board of another ship. About noon, Van Tromp was shot through the body, by a musket-ball, as he was giving orders (x). This event miserably discouraged his countrymen, and, at two o'clock, they retreated, in great confusion, having but one flag hoisted in the whole fleet. The lightest of the English frigates pursued them closely, until the Dutch admiral, perceiving that they were small, and of no great force, turned his helm, and resolved to engage them, when some larger ships bore down to their assistance, and he was taken (y). When the scattered fleet, in the service of the States, had recovered the Texel, the night was considerably advanced. The English fearing the flats, rode warily at the distance of six leagues.

This victory, although it proved a fatal diminution of the naval force of Holland, was not attended by a
loss

(u) Clarendon.—Whitlocke.—Sir Philip Warwick's Memoirs, p. 366.

(x) Clarendon's history of the Rebellion, V. 6. p. 488, 489.—Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 562.—Ludlow's Memoirs, V. 2. p. 468.—Coke's Detection, V. 2. p. 35.—Bates's *Elencus Motuum*, part 2. p. 176.—Manley's history of the Rebellion, p. 268.—Skinner's Life of General Monk, p. 48.—Journal of the proceedings of the Dutch fleet, written by vice-admiral De Wit, and addressed to the States, on the eleventh of August, in the year, one thousand, six hundred, and fifty-three, N. S. in Thurloe's Collection, V. 1. p. 392.—Leven Van Tromp, part 3.—La Vie de Ruyter, part 1. p. 32, 33.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 217.

(y) Heath's Chronicle, p. 348.

loss; but, from better intelligence, it appeared that four of these had escaped; two into a port of Zealand, and two into Hamburg. Their loss, however, was very great: five captains were taken prisoners, and between four and five thousand men killed, twenty-six ships of war either burnt or sunk. On the side of the English there were two ships only, *viz.* the Oak and the Hunter frigate burnt, six captains, and upwards of five hundred seamen killed. There were also six captains, and about eight hundred private men wounded. The Dutch writers dispute many of these points, and some of them will not allow that they lost above nine ships. The contrary of this, however, appears from de Witte's letter to the states, wherein he owns many more; confesses, he had made a very precipitate retreat, for which he assigns two reasons; first, that the best of their ships were miserably shattered, and next, that many of his officers had behaved like poltrons.

Some very singular circumstances attended this victory. There were several merchant-men in the fleet, and Monk, finding occasion to employ them, thought proper to send their captains to each other's ships, in order to take off their concern for their owners vessels and cargoes; a scheme which answered his purpose well, no ships in the fleet behaving better. He had likewise observed, that in most engagements much time and many opportunities were lost, by taking ships and sending them into harbour; and considering that still greater inconveniencies must arise from their nearness to the enemy's coast, and distance from their own, he issued his orders in the beginning of the fight, that they should not either give or take quarter; which, however, were not so strictly observed, but that twelve hundred Dutchmen were taken out of the sea, while their ships were sinking.

Monk was so active, that in his letter to Cromwell, dated the 2d of August, 1653, he takes notice, that of five Dutch flags that were flying at the beginning of the fight, he had the good fortune to bring down three, *viz.* those of Tromp, Everfon, and de Ruyter; and so long he continued in the heat of the dispute, that his ship was at last towed out of the line: and, most of the great

vessels had been so roughly handled, that there was no continuing on the enemy's coast any longer, without danger of their sinking.

The parliament, who were of Cromwell's appointment, on the 8th of August, 1653, ordered gold chains to be sent to the generals Blake and Monk, and likewise to vice-admiral Penn, and rear-admiral Lawson; they also sent chains to the rest of the flag-officers, and medals to the captains. The 25th of August was appointed for a day of solemn thanksgiving; and, Monk, being then in town, Cromwell, at a great feast in the city, put the gold chain about his neck, and obliged him to wear it all dinner-time. As for the states, they supported their loss with inexpressible courage and constancy; they buried Tromp very magnificently at the public expence, and, as soon as the return of the English fleet permitted, sent de Witte with a fleet of fifty men of war and five fire-ships to the Sound, in order to convoy home a fleet of 300 merchantmen, there assembled from different quarters.

This he performed, though the English fleet did all that was possible to intercept him: but the joy, which the Dutch conceived upon this occasion, was soon qualified by accidents of another sort; for an English squadron, falling in with a large fleet of merchantmen in the mouth of the Ulie, took most of them, and admiral Lawson, sailing to the north, destroyed their herring fishery for that year, and either took or sunk most of the frigates sent to protect them; besides a great storm drove thirteen of their best men of war from their anchors, so that, running on shore, they were lost.

The negotiation carried on by the Dutch ministers at London met at first with many difficulties. The terms prescribed were many, and in their nature hard, inasmuch that it is scarce to be conceived, that the Dutch could ever have submitted to them; but an accident delivered them out of their distress. The parliament on the 12th of December, 1653, took a sudden resolution of delivering up their power to him from whom it came, *viz.* the lord-general Cromwell, who soon after took upon him the supreme magistracy, under the title of Protector. He quickly admitted the Dutch to a treaty upon

upon softer conditions, though he affected to make use of high terms, and to behave towards their ambassadors with a great deal of haughtiness, which, for the sake of their country's interest, they knew well enough how to bear.

This treaty ended in a peace, which was made the 4th of April, 1654, in which, it was in the first place stipulated, that such as could be found of the persons concerned in the massacre at Amboyna should be delivered up to justice. They acknowledged the dominion of the English at sea by consenting to strike the flag, submitted to the act of navigation, undertook to give the East-India company satisfaction for the losses they had sustained, and by a private article bound themselves never to elect any of the house of Orange to the dignity of stadtholder.

Thus, taking all things together, this ought rather to be considered as a close conjunction between the new protector of England and the Louvestein faction in Holland, than an alliance between the two nations: for, though it be true that some regard was had in this treaty to the honour and interest of England, yet, considering our success in that war, and the situation things were in at the conclusion of it, there can be no reason to doubt, that, if the parliament, which begun the war, had ended it, they would have done it upon much better terms in respect both to profit and glory.

Hostilities between the two states had not continued quite two years, and yet in that time the English took no less than one thousand seven hundred prizes, valued by the Dutch themselves at sixty-two millions of guilders, or near six millions sterling. On the contrary, those taken by the Dutch could not amount to the fourth part either in number or value. Within that space the English were victorious in no less than five general battles, some of which were of several days; whereas the Hollanders cannot justly boast of having gained one; for the action between de Ruyter and Ayscue, in which they pretended some advantage, was no general fight, and the advantage gained by Tromp in the Downs is owned to have been gained over a part only of the English fleet. As short as this quarrel was, it brought

the Dutch to greater extremities than their fourscore years war with Spain. The states shewed great wisdom in including their ally the king of Denmark in this treaty, by undertaking that either he or they should make satisfaction for the English ships which had been seized at the beginning of the war in his port.

The rupture between France and England still continued, our ships of war taking, sinking, or burning theirs where-ever they met them, and the French privateers disturbing our commerce as much as they were able. An attempt was made by the French ministry to have got France, as well as Denmark, included in the peace made with the states: but Cromwell would not hear of this, because he knew how to make his advantage of the difficulties the French then laboured under another way; in which he succeeded perfectly well, obliging them in 1655 to submit to his own terms, and to give up the interests of the royal family, notwithstanding their near relation to the house of Bourbon. He likewise obtained a very advantageous treaty of commerce; and without question his conduct with regard to France would have deserved commendation, if, for the sake of securing his own government, he had not entered too readily into the views of cardinal Mazarine, and thereby contributed to the aggrandizing of a power which has been terrible to Europe ever since, and which he might have reduced within just bounds, if he had so pleased.

He did not discover his intentions in this respect all at once, but by degrees only, and as they became necessary. He affected to have his friendship earnestly solicited both by France and Spain, and even declared publicly, that he would give it to the court which deserved best, or, in plain terms, bid highest for it. The first sign of his reconciliation to the French, was the restoring the ships taken by Blake, with provisions and ammunition for the garrison of Dunkirk; and yet nothing of confidence appeared then between the cardinal and him, though it is generally supposed, that the primary instigation to the Spanish war came from him, who gave the protector to understand, that the English maritime force could not be better employed than in conquering part of the Spanish West-Indies, while France
attacked

attacked the same crown in Europe; and, to purchase his assistance, would readily relinquish the royal family, and so rid him from all fears of an invasion. Besides these hints from abroad, the protector had some notices of a like nature at home, especially from one Gage, a priest, who had been long in America, and who furnished him with a copious account of the wealth and weakness of the Spaniards there.

Immediately after the conclusion of the Dutch war, the protector ordered all the ships of his navy to be repaired, and put into good condition. He likewise directed many new ones to be built, storehouses, magazines, &c. to be filled with ammunition and provision; whence it was evident enough, that he intended not to be idle, though no body knew against whom this mighty force was to be exerted. In the summer of the year 1654 he ordered two great fleets to be provided, one of which was to be commanded by admiral Blake, and the other by vice-admiral Penn. Their orders were to be opened at sea, and they had no farther lights given them than were absolutely requisite for making the necessary preparations. Blake, as soon as all things were ready, put to sea, and sailed into the Streights, where his orders were to procure satisfaction from such princes and states as had either insulted the government, or injured the commerce of England. But, before his departure, it had been said, that he was to intercept the duke of Guise, and to protect Naples from the French.

This had the desired effect; it lulled the Spaniards into a false security, and even disposed them to shew the admiral all possible civilities, who very probably had himself as yet no suspicion of Cromwell's design to break with that nation. The first place he went to was Leghorn, where he had two accounts to make up with the grand duke; the first was, for his subjects purchasing the prizes made by Prince Rupert; the other for the damage done by Van Galen, when Appleton was forced out of Leghorn road. These demands surprised the prince on whom they were made; especially when he understood how large a sum was expected from him, not less in the whole than a hundred and fifty thousand pounds,

pounds, which, however, was moderated to sixty thousand pounds; and this sum there is reason to believe was actually paid.

Thence he proceeded to Algiers, where he arrived the 10th of March 1655, sending an officer to the dey to demand satisfaction for the piracies that had been formerly committed on the English, and the immediate release of all the captives belonging to his nation. The dey answered, that as for the ships and slaves they were now the property of private persons, from whom he could not take them with safety to himself; but that he would make it his care they should be speedily redeemed upon easy terms, and would make a treaty with him to prevent any hostilities being committed on the English for the future.

The admiral left the port upon this, and sailed to Tunis, where he sent the like message on shore; but received a very short answer, *viz.* "Here are our castles of Guletta and Porto Ferino: you may do your worst; we do not fear you." Blake entered the bay of Porto Ferino, and came within musket-shot of the castle and line, upon both which he played so warmly, that they were soon in a defenceless condition. There were then nine ships in the road, which the admiral resolved to burn; and with this view ordered every captain to man his long-boat with choice men, and directed these to enter the harbour, and fire the ships of Tunis, while he and his fleet covered them from the castle, by playing continually on it with their cannon. The seamen in their boats boldly assaulted the corsairs, and burnt all their ships, with the loss of twenty-five men killed, and forty-eight wounded. This daring action spread the terror of his name through Africa and Asia, which had long been formidable in Europe. From Tunis he sailed to Tripoly, and concluded a peace with that government. Thence he returned to Tunis, and threatening to do farther execution, the inhabitants implored his mercy from their works, and begged him to grant them a peace, which he did on terms mortifying to them, glorious for him, and profitable for his country.

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The other fleet being also in readiness, and composed of about thirty ships of war, and a convenient number of transports, the protector resolved it should sail in the month of December 1654. Admiral Penn had the chief command, and under him were vice-admiral Goodson and rear-admiral Blagge. The commander of the land-forces was colonel Venables, an old officer, who, as well as the admiral, was secretly in the king's interest, and intended to have laid hold of this opportunity to restore him. The troops consisted of about five thousand men, amongst whom many were royalists, and the rest so little satisfied with the protector's administration, that one great end of this expedition was to be rid of them.

Venables had desired of Cromwell, that great care might be taken in furnishing arms and ammunition; that his forces might be properly chosen, and that himself might not be fettered by his instructions. In all these he soon found himself disappointed: his provision was not only short, but very bad in its kind; arms and ammunition were very sparingly supplied, and in a manner fitter for shew than service; his troops were either raw or invalids; and by his instructions he was tied up from doing any thing without the consent of others. Before he could acquire knowledge of these particulars, he was hurried on board at Portsmouth, whence he immediately sailed for Barbadoes.

The fleet arrived in Carlisle bay on the 29th of January 1655, and were very joyfully received by all the inhabitants of the island of Barbadoes, where they staid some time, in order to recruit and make the necessary preparations for their intended descent on the island of Hispaniola. General Venables found himself deficient in all sorts of necessaries; and, which was worse, found admiral Penn very little inclined to afford him even the assistance that was in his power. He expostulated with him to no purpose, which made the wretchedness of his and their condition so apparent, that one of their fellow-commissioners said plainly, "He doubted they were betrayed." It was, however, too late to look back; and, besides, abundance of volunteers resorted to Barbadoes from all our plantations, in order to share the

the riches that were to be taken from the Spaniards; so that Venables saw himself under a necessity of proceeding, notwithstanding he was thoroughly satisfied they were not in condition to proceed.

From Barbadoes the fleet sailed on the last of March to St. Christopher's, where they met with another supply of volunteers; so that when they embarked for Hispaniola, Venables had under his command very near ten thousand men. It must, however, be observed, that they were in bad temper for making conquests. Most of them, when they left England, did it with a view to make their fortunes; but now the commissioners told them, that every penny of their plunder was to be accounted for, and that they could only allow them a fortnight's pay by way of equivalent. This had like to cause a mutiny, and it was with much ado that the officers pacified them with a promise of six weeks pay, which the commissioners, however, would not be brought to confirm; and in this situation things were, when they embarked for Hispaniola.

They arrived before St. Domingo, and general Venables proposed, that they should sail directly into the harbour, which, however, was not agreed to by the sea-officers, who proposed landing at the river Hine; for which purpose, part of the Squadron was detached under the command of vice-admiral Goodson, who, when at sea, declared he had no pilots to conduct the ships into the mouth of the river, and therefore the troops were compelled to land at the west point, from whence they had forty miles to march through a thick woody country, without any guide; inasmuch, that numbers of men and horses, through fatigue, extremity of heat, and want of water, were destroyed.

After four days march, the army came to the place where they might have been at first put on shore; but by that time the enemy had drawn together the whole force of the island, and had recovered from their first surprize. Colonel Buller, who had landed with his regiment near Hine river, and had orders to remain there till the army joined him, thought fit, on the coming of Cox the guide, to march away; and, for want of this guide, the general and his forces marched ten or
twelve

twelve miles out of their road. Exasperated with these disappointments, and the hardships they had undergone, the regiment of seamen, under the command of admiral Goodson, mutinied first, and then the land-troops; so that the general had much ado to prevail on them to ford the river. At length colonel Buller and Cox the guide joined them, and promised to conduct them to a place where they might be supplied with water; but the colonel taking the liberty of straggling for the sake of pillage, the Spaniards attacked him, and in one of these skirmishes Cox, their only guide, was killed; yet the Spaniards were repulsed, and pursued within cannon-shot of the town.

In this distressed condition, a council of war was called, wherein, after mature deliberation, it was resolved to march to the harbour in the best manner they could, which with much difficulty they effected. There they staid three or four days, to furnish themselves with provisions, and other necessaries, and then with a single mortar-piece, marched into the island again, to reduce the fort. The vanguard was commanded by adjutant-general Jackson, who as soon as he was attacked by the Spaniards, ran away, and his troops after him. The passage through the woods being very narrow, they pressed on the general's regiment, who in vain endeavoured to stop them with their pikes. They likewise disordered major-general Haines's regiment, which gave the enemy great advantage; so that the major-general, and the bravest of the officers, who, like Englishmen, preferred death before flight, ended their days here. At last, general Venables and vice-admiral Goodson, at the head of their regiments, forced the run-aways into the wood, obliged the enemy to retire, and kept their own ground, notwithstanding the fire from the fort was very warm.

By this time the forces were so much discouraged, that they could not be brought to play the mortar. The general, though reduced to a very low condition, caused himself to be led from place to place, to encourage them; till fainting at last, he was forced to leave the care of the attack to major-general Fortescue, who did
what

what he could to revive their spirits, but to very little purpose.

Soon after it was resolved in a council of war, that since the enemy had fortified all the passes, and the whole army was in the utmost distress for want of water, they should march to a place where they were informed a supply of that, and other necessaries, had been put ashore from the ships. In this march the soldiers followed their officers, till they found themselves in danger, and then left them; insomuch that the commissioners owned, that, had not the enemy been as fearful as their own men, they might in a few days have destroyed the whole army; and withal, they let him know, that the troops who had occasioned the greatest disorder, were those of Barbadoes and St. Christopher's; insomuch that they, who were Penn, Winslow, and Buller, had resolved to leave the place, and try what could be done against the island of Jamaica. Such was the end of this expedition, after having been on shore from the fourteenth of April to the first of May, when this resolution of failing to Jamaica was taken.

The army was accordingly in a little time embarked; but the sick and wounded men were left on the bare decks for eight and forty hours, without either meat, drink, or dressing, insomuch that worms bred in their sores: and even while they were on shore, the provisions sent to them were not watered, but candied with salt, notwithstanding they had not water sufficient to quench their thirst. Nay, after their misfortunes on shore, Venables averred, that Penn gave rear-admiral Blagge orders not to furnish them with any more provisions, of what kind soever; so that they eat up all the dogs, asses, and horses in the camp, and some of them such things as were in themselves poisonous, of which about forty died. Before the forces were embarked, adjutant-general Jackson was tried at a court-martial, and not only sentenced to be cashiered, and his sword broken over his head, but to do the duty of a swabber, in keeping clean the hospital-ship; a punishment suitable to his notorious cowardice.

The descent on Jamaica was better managed than that on Hispaniola; for immediately on their landing, which

which was on the third of May, General Venables issued his orders, that if any man should be found attempting to run away, the next man to him should put him to death; which, if he failed to do, he should be liable to a court-martial. The next day they attacked a fort, which they carried, and were then preparing to storm the town of St. Jago, but this the Spanish inhabitants prevented, by a timely treaty; yet, before the general would listen to any propositions of peace, he insisted, that a certain quantity of provisions should be sent them daily, which was punctually performed; and this gave his soldiers strength and spirits; and in a short time their negotiations ended in a complete surrender of the island to the English.

General Venables finding himself in a very weak condition, desired the consent of the commissioners to open their ultimate instructions, to which, after mature deliberation, they yielded. In these he found he had power, in case of necessity, to resign his command, which he did accordingly to general Fortescue; upon this, admiral Penn followed his example, and delivered up his charge to vice-admiral Goodson, with whom he left a stout squadron of ships, and with the rest of the fleet returned to England. In their passage home, they fell in with the Spanish plate-fleet, in the gulf of Florida, but without attacking it; whether through want of will, or of instructions, at this distance, it is hard to determine.

Immediately after the arrival of Penn and Venables, which was in the month of September 1655, they were both committed close prisoners to the Tower, to satisfy the clamours of the people, who laid the greatest blame on him who least deserved it. All that the protector insisted on was, that they should confess their faults, in leaving their respective charges; and he promised to release them upon their submission. This Penn quickly did, and was accordingly discharged; but Venables absolutely refused it, always insisting that he had committed no fault, since, in case of inability to execute his duty, his instructions permitted him to resign his command.

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His memory has been very hardly treated, I think with little reason; for as to what is said of his suffering the Spaniards to carry off their effects from the city of St. Jago to the mountains, and thereby defrauding the soldiers of their plunder, it appears to be a gross calumny, for several reasons. For first, admitting the fact to be true, that they did carry off their effects, this could prove no loss to the soldiers, but quite the contrary; since, if they had now fallen into their hands, the commissioners would have seized them for the protector's use, in pursuance of the order before-mentioned. Next, the general could do nothing in this respect, without the consent of the other commissioners; and lastly, it appears by the most authentic account we have of this affair, that the officers and soldiers were so far from being dissatisfied with his conduct, that they relied upon him to represent their grievances at home, and to procure redress; which he did, as far as was in his power.

The reason of his being first aspersed was, a persuasion that he was a confident and creature of Cromwell's; which is so far from being true, that the very contrary is certain. The protector hated, and was jealous of him, and conferred on him this command merely to get him out of his way. The truth is, the fault lay in the protector's scheme, which was not either more or less, than to have raised a large supply for his own empty coffers from this expedition. This induced him to tie the commissioners down, to hinder the soldiers from keeping their plunder, upon pain of death; and their insisting upon this, had like to have been the ruin of the whole undertaking.

Admiral Blake's fleet continued all this time in the Mediterranean, and was now in the road to Cadiz, where he received the greatest civilities from the Spaniards, and lived on the best terms imaginable with them; for, till the blow was struck at Jamaica, Cromwell, to the best of his power, carefully concealed his design to make war upon them. When this was known, the Spaniards declared immediately against him, and seized the effects of all the English merchants in their dominions, to an immense value; an incident which seems not to have

have been sufficiently considered, by those who cry up the protector's conduct so highly. This war, as we have before observed, was, at the bottom, undertaken for his own advantage, from a prospect of supplying his coffers with money, without putting him under the necessity of calling parliaments.

When nothing farther was to be obtained by concealing his intentions, the protector sent Mr. Montague with a small squadron of men of war into the Mediterranean, to join Blake, and to carry him fresh instructions; the principal of which was to block up the port of Cadiz, in which there was a fleet of forty sail, intended to secure the flota; and, at the same time the sailing of this fleet was prevented, the English were to use their utmost diligence to hinder the flota from coming in, without sharing in the riches that were on board. Blake and Montague executed their orders with equal skill and industry, taking care to obtain a supply of fresh provisions and water, as often as they had occasion, from the Portugal coast. Thither for that purpose they had sailed with the greatest part of the fleet, when the squadron from the Indies approached Cadiz. Rear-admiral Stayner, with seven frigates, plied to and fro, till these eight large ships were in view, which he presently knew to be what they really were; whereas they took his vessels, because they lay very low in the water, for fishermen. This gave him an opportunity of coming up with and fighting them, though the weather hindered four of his frigates from acting. Yet with the *Speaker*, the *Bridgwater*, and the *Plymouth*, he did his business; and, after an obstinate engagement, sunk two, run two more a-ground, and took two of the Spanish vessels, so that two only escaped.

In one of those that were destroyed was the marquis of Badajoz, of the family of Lopez, who had been governor of Peru for the king of Spain, and perished miserably, with the marchioness his wife, and their daughter; the eldest son and his brother were saved, and brought safe to the generals with this prize, wherein were two millions of pieces of eight; and as much there was in one of them that was sunk. The admiral who carried the flag, (for concealing the richest ship),
with

with the Portugal Prize, recovered the shore. Soon after, general Montague, with the young Marquis of Badajoz, and part of the fleet to escort the silver, returned into England, delivered the bullion into the mint, and, upon his earnest interposition, the young marquis was set at liberty:

The protector took a great deal of care of his new conquest, Jamaica; and within a very short time after the return of Penn and Venables, sent a considerable supply thither, and a squadron of men of war. These troops were commanded by colonel Humfreys, but major Sedgwick went with him, and had a commission to be governor of the island. When they came thither, they found things in a much better posture than they expected. Colonel Doily, to whom Fortescue, on account of sickness, had resigned his command, was a person so indefatigable, that he had subdued all the opposition he met with, and driven the Spaniards out of the island, notwithstanding they had fortified themselves in two or three places very strongly, and had been abundantly supplied with artillery and ammunition from Cuba.

We now return to the proceedings of the fleet in the Mediterranean. Admiral Blake continued to cruize before the haven of Cadiz, and in the Straits, till the month of April, 1657; and having then information of another plate-fleet, which had put into the haven of Santa-cruz, in the island of Teneriff, he immediately sailed thither, and arrived before the town the 20th of April. Here he found the flota, consisting of six galleons very richly laden, and ten other vessels. The latter lay within the port, with a strong barricado before them; the galleons without the boom, because they drew too much water to lye within it. The port itself was strongly fortified, having on the north a large castle well supplied with artillery, and seven forts united by a line of communication, well lined with musketeers. The Spanish governor thought the place so secure, and his own dispositions so well made, that when the master of a Dutch ship desired leave to sail, because he apprehended Blake would presently attack the ships in the harbour, the

the Spaniards answered tartly, " Get you gone, if you will, and let Blake come, if he dares.

The admiral, after viewing the enemy's preparations, called a council of war, wherein it was resolved to attempt destroying the enemy's ships; for it was impossible to bring them off: and to this end he sent captain Stayner with a squadron to attack them, who soon forced his passage into the bay, while other frigates played on the forts and line, and hindered them from giving the ships much disturbance. Staynard's squadron was quickly supported by Blake with the whole fleet, who boarded the Spanish galleons, and in a few hours made himself master of them all, and then set them on fire; so that the whole Spanish fleet was burnt down to the water's edge, except two ships which sunk outright; and then, the wind veering to S. W. he passed with his fleet safe out of the port again, losing in this dangerous attempt no more than forty-eight men killed, and having about 120 wounded.

When the protector had the news of this glorious success, he immediately sent it by his secretary Thurloe to the parliament then sitting; and they, on hearing the particulars, ordered a day to be set apart for a thanksgiving, a ring of the value of 500 pounds to the general as a testimony of his country's gratitude, a present of 100 to the captain who brought the news, and their thanks to all the officers and soldiers concerned in the action. Captain Richard Stayner, returning soon after, was knighted by the protector: nor was it long before Blake and the fleet returned, which put an end to the Spanish war by sea; for the protector had lately entered into a closer conjunction with France, and, in consequence thereof, sent over a body of land-forces into Flanders, where they assisted in taking the fortrefs and port of Dunkirk, which was delivered into the hands of the English, who kept it till after the Restoration.

There had been for some years a very sharp war carried on between the kings of Sweden and Denmark, which in its consequences was like to affect the maritime powers. The Dutch saw that their trade to the Baltic would be ruined if the king of Sweden prevailed, who was now become the superior both by land and sea; they there-

therefore resolved to send a fleet to the assistance of the Danes, which they did, and thereby saved Copenhagen. In England it was judged to be of no less consequence to succour the Swedes; and therefore Sir George Ayscue, who was drawn out of his retirement to command upon this occasion, had orders to accept a commission as admiral from the king of Sweden, which would have enabled him to act more effectually for his service, than the Dutch did in favour of their allies.

This was in the year 1658; but it was so late in the season, that the squadron was not able to reach Copenhagen for the ice.

All expeditions by sea are liable to great uncertainty, even when planned with the greatest skill. The protector and his council projected this. Sir G. Ayscue went in a Swedish ship with a number of gallant officers attached to him, and resolved to follow his fortunes; but the English squadron commanded by vice-admiral Goodson, was to act in conjunction with Sir George, when he published his Swedish commission. But, this fleet being long retarded by contrary winds, the protector died in the mean time. However, Richard, pursued his father's scheme, had sent it; and on account of the ice, as is before mentioned, this fleet returned again to England, without effecting any thing, to the great joy of the Danes and Dutch. This disappointment, joined to the many difficulties arisen upon the demise of Oliver, it was generally conceived that the English would have meddled no farther in this affair. It proved otherwise, however; for a stout fleet was fitted out, and sent into the Baltic under the command of admiral Montague, who had acquired a great reputation by serving in conjunction with Blake. He had, besides his commission of admiral, another, whereby he was joined in the negotiation in the north with the ambassadors Sidney and Honeywood. He arrived at Copenhagen, and managed his affairs with great dexterity; for he avoided coming to blows, that he might not begin a new Dutch war, compelled the king of Sweden to think of peace, to which he was otherwise very little inclined, and while he did all this, and executed effectually the duties of those high offices with which he was intrusted, he entertained

tertained a secret correspondence with the king, and disposed all things on board the fleet for his service.

When measures were concerted for Sir George Booth's rising, which was the last attempt made in favour of his majesty before his restoration, notice of it was given to admiral Montague at Copenhagen, who instantly resolved to return to England. His fellow-ambassadors, who were very able men, and hearty republicans, had this time gained some intelligence of his intercourse with the king, and therefore intended to have seized him in case he came ashore. He was wise enough never to put it in their power, and took care also to run no risk in returning without orders; for having called a council of war, he complained to them that provisions grew short, and that it would be a very difficult thing to supply themselves in that part of the world, there being a Dutch fleet there at the same time. Upon this it was unanimously resolved to sail home immediately; and this resolution was no sooner taken, than the admiral weighed anchor, and returned to England unexpectedly.

On his arrival he found things in quite another situation than he expected. Sir George Booth had been defeated and taken prisoner, and the old parliament was again restored; so that admiral Montague, though he had forty sail of stout ships under his command, and the seamen much at his devotion, yet thought it safest to leave the fleet, and to come up freely and give an account of his conduct to the parliament; which he did in September, 1659, and was afterwards allowed to retire to his house in the country. The command of the fleet was then intrusted with admiral Lawson, who continued in the channel with a larger squadron of ships than ordinary, till general Monk came out of Scotland. As soon as the designs began to ripen, he proposed that Montague should be recalled, and restored to the command of the navy; which was accordingly done, and the supreme command in maritime affairs vested in him and Monk.

Admiral Montague went instantly to his command, and was not a little surprized to find that Lawson and the rest of the officers were much better inclined to the intended change than he expected; and therefore he did not much dissemble either his inclinations or intentions.

On the fourth of April, 1660, he received his majesty's letter, and caused it to be read publicly in the fleet; immediately after which, without waiting for the parliament's orders, he sailed for Holland, and sent an officer to the Hague, to inform the king that he was ready to receive him.

We have thus, without entering deep into politics, run through the naval transactions of this memorable period, and have now only the lives of the most eminent seamen who flourished therein to employ our care.

MEMOIRS OF ADMIRAL BLAKE.

HIS descent was honourable, the family from which he sprung having been long settled at Plansfield, in the parish of Spaxton in Somersetshire. Mr. Humphry Blake, his father, was a Spanish merchant, and having acquired a considerable fortune for the times in which he lived, bought a small estate in Bridgwater, where his family had been long settled. He had several children, of whom the eldest was Robert, whose life we are now to write. He was born in the month of August, 1598, and, during his father's life-time, was educated at a free-school in Bridgwater. He afterwards removed to Oxford, where he was first a member of St. Alban's-hall, and next of Wadham-college. After taking a degree, and meeting with more than one disappointment in his endeavours to obtain academical preferment, he left the university, when he had staid there seven years.

During his residence in that seat of the muses, he sufficiently displayed his temper, which in reality was that of a humourist, usually grave, and in appearance morose; but inclined in an evening, and with particular friends, to be very chearful, though still with a tincture of severity, which disposed him to bear hard on the pride of courtiers, and the power of churchmen; which rendered him very agreeable to the good fellows in those days; though whether there was any ground from this disposition of his to conclude him a republican, is, I think, not easy to be determined. This is certain, that his reputation for probity, and his known aversion

aversion to persecution, engaged the puritans to promote his election as a burgher for Bridgwater, in the parliament which sat in April 1640.

That assembly was dissolved too early for Mr. Blake to make any discovery therein of his talents as a senator; and in the long parliament, which sat soon after, he lost his election. When the war broke out between the king and the parliament, he declared for the latter, and took arms very early in their service; but where, and in what quality, is not very clear. However, he was very soon made a captain of dragoons, in which station he shewed himself as able and active an officer as any in the service, and as such was constantly employed upon all occasions, where either boldness or dexterity were particularly requisite.

In 1643 we find him at Bristol, under the command of colonel Fiennes, who intrusted him with a little fort on the line, in which he first gave the world a proof of his military virtues; for, on the 26th of July, when Prince Rupert attacked that important place, and the governor had agreed to surrender it upon articles, Mr. Blake still held out his fort, and killed several of the king's forces. This exasperated Prince Rupert to such a degree, that he talked of hanging him, had not some friends interposed, and excused him on account of his want of experience in war; and at their request, though not without much difficulty, he was at last prevailed upon to give up the fort.

After this he served in Somersetshire, under the command of Popham, who was governor of Lyme, to whose regiment Blake was lieutenant-colonel. As he was much beloved in his country, and as the greatest part of the regiment was Somersetshire men, he had so good an intelligence in those parts, that he, in conjunction with Sir Robert Pye, surprised Taunton for the parliament, where he found ten pieces of cannon, and a great deal of ammunition. In 1644, he was constituted governor of that place, which was of the utmost importance, being the only garrison the parliament had in the west. The works about it were far from being strong. He had no very numerous garrison; yet, by keeping a strict discipline, and treating the townsmen

well,

well, he made a shift to keep it, though no great care was taken to furnish him with supplies, and notwithstanding he was sometimes besieged, and often blocked up by the king's forces.

At length general Goring came before the place with near ten thousand men, and pressed Blake so close, that he carried all the outworks, and actually took from him a part of the town. However, he held out the rest of it and the castle with wonderful obstinacy till relief came ; for which extraordinary service the parliament gave the garrison a bounty of two thousand pounds, and honoured colonel Blake with a present of five hundred pounds.

Colonel Blake, in April, 1646, marched with a detachment from his garrison, and reduced Dunster-castle, a seat belonging to the ancient family of Luttrell, the troops posted therein having given great disturbance to the country ; which was the last military achievement he performed during this war. In December following, the parliament ordered five hundred pounds to be paid him for disbanding some forces.

It is not easy to guess what induced the parliament to make choice of him, who had always served as a horse-officer, to take the supreme command of the fleet. All our historians are silent as to their motive ; and therefore I hazard a conjecture on this head. The parliament had lately taken upon themselves the rank, though not the title, of states-general, and therefore might be inclined to make use of deputies for the direction both of fleets and armies, who were to judge in great points, and to be obeyed by such as were skilful in their profession, either as seamen or soldiers ; for, in their judgment, to command was one thing, and to act another. On the 12th of February, 1648-9, he was appointed one of the commissioners of the navy, and upon the 21st an act passed, as we have elsewhere taken notice, appointing him, in conjunction with Deane and Popham, to command the fleet. His first service was driving Prince Rupert's fleet from the Irish coast, and then following him into the Mediterranean. This gave his masters high satisfaction, both in respect to his capacity and his fidelity in their service, which they likewise acknowledged very obligingly. His conduct indeed was
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equally prudent and successful; for it not only put an end to that pyratrical war, which did so much damage to trade, but also struck such a terror into the Spaniards and Portuguese, as to prevent all those disputes which otherwise would have naturally happened on the appearance of so new a power in Europe, as the commonwealth of England.

In the month of February, 1651, Blake, in his return homewards, took a French man of war of forty guns; in respect to which action there happened some circumstances that certainly deserve to be particularly mentioned. The admiral commanded the captain on board him, and asked him, if he was willing to lay down his sword? he answered he was not: upon which Blake generously bid him return to his ship, and fight it out as long as he was able. The captain took him at his word, fought him bravely for about two hours, and then submitting, went again on board Blake's ship, first kissed and then presented his sword to the admiral upon his knees. This ship, with four more, the admiral sent into England; and not long after arriving at Plymouth with his Squadron, he there received the thanks of the parliament for his vigilance and valour in his station, and was constituted one of the lords wardens of the cinque ports, as an additional mark of their esteem and confidence.

In March following, colonels Blake, Popham and Deane, or any two of them, were again appointed by act of parliament to be admirals and generals of the fleet for the year ensuing, in which he reduced the islands of Scilly, Guernsey, and Jersey, to the obedience of the parliament; and, as a new mark of honour, he was on the 25th of November elected one of the council of state. When the necessity of a Dutch war became apparent, the parliament gave the highest testimony of their sense of his merit, and of their entire confidence in his conduct, by constituting him, in March, 1652, sole general of the fleet for nine months. We have already given a distinct account of the battle in the Downs, on the 19th of May, 1652, excepting some circumstances which relate to Blake, and which were therefore reserved for this place.

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When he observed Van Tromp bore nearer his fleet than he had any occasion to do, he saluted him with two guns without ball, to put him in mind of striking sail; upon which, the Dutchman, in contempt, fired on the contrary side. Blake fired a second and a third gun, which Van Tromp answered with a broadside: the English admiral perceiving his intention to fight, detached himself from the rest of the fleet to treat with Van Tromp upon that point of honour, and to prevent the effusion of blood, and a national quarrel: when Blake approached nearer to Van Tromp, he and the rest of his fleet, contrary to the law of nations, fired on Blake with whole broadsides. The admiral was in the cabin drinking with some officers, little expecting to be saluted, when the shot broke the windows of the ship, and shattered the stern, which put him into a passion. He commanded his men to answer the Dutch in their kind, saying, when his heat was somewhat over, "he took it very ill of Van Tromp that he should take his ship for a bawdy-house, and break his windows." Blake singly sustained the shock of the Dutch fleet for some time, till his own ships, and the squadron under major Bourne could join them; and then the engagement grew hot on both, and bloody on the enemy's side, till night put an end to it.

In the beginning of July, finding Sir George Ayscue returned from Barbadoes, and a force sufficient to guard the Downs, he resolved to sail northwards, to execute a design he had long meditated, of destroying the herring fishery, which he thought would have put an immediate end to the war, by convincing the Dutch of the folly of disputing our sovereignty in our own seas.

On the second of July, Blake bore away to the north, and quickly fell in with the Dutch fishing vessels, which were there in great numbers, under the protection of twelve men of war. Blake attacked their convoy, and they, knowing the importance of their charge, and having taken on board a great supply of fresh men from the vessels under their care, fought bravely, and sold their freedom dearly; but at last were every one taken, which left the fishery entirely at the admiral's mercy, who upon this occasion shewed the rectitude of his heart, and the

the solidity of his understanding ; for having thus threatened those buſſes with utter deſtruction, if ever they were found there again without leave, he afterwards freely permitted them to compleat their ladings, on their paying the TENTH herring, which was what King Charles demanded ; and where this was reſuſed, he ſunk or drove away their ſhips.

His ſubſequent conduct during the Dutch war has been already thoroughly accounted for, and therefore I ſhall only take notice here of the method our admiral took to keep the Seamen eaſy, notwithstanding all the changes that happened in the government. He told them, it was his and their buſineſs to act faithfully in their reſpective ſtations, and to do their duty to their country, whatever irregularities there might be in the councils at home, and would often ſay amongſt his officers, that ſtate affairs were not their province, but that they were bound to keep foreigners from fooling uſ. Theſe principles rendered him agreeable to all parties.

When he ſailed in 1654 into the Mediterranean, he came in the month of December into the road of Cadiz, where he was received with great reſpect and civility by the Spaniards, and indeed by all nations as well as the Engliſh, who were then in the port. A Dutch admiral would not wear his flag while the Engliſh was in the harbour ; one of the victuallers attending his fleet, being ſeparated from the reſt, fell in with the French admiral and ſeven men of war near the Straits mouth. The captain of the victualling-ſloop was ordered on board the admiral, who inquired of him where Blake was, drank his health with five guns, and ſo wiſhed the captain a good voyage. The Algerines ſtood in ſuch awe of him, that they were wont to ſtop the Sallee rovers, and, in caſe they had any priſoners on board, took them out, and ſent them to Blake, in hopes thereby of obtaining his favour.

He ſailed from Cadiz to Malaga. Some of his ſeamen, going aſhore, met with the hoſt as it was carrying to ſome ſick perſon, and not only paid no reſpect thereto, but laughed at thoſe who did. The prieſt who accompanied it highly reſented this, and put the people on revenging the indignity ; upon which they fell upon
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the sailors, and beat some of them very severely. When they returned on board, they complained of this ill usage, and the admiral instantly sent a trumpet to the viceroy, to demand the priest who was the author of this insult. The viceroy answered, that he had no authority over priests, and therefore could not send him. Upon this Blake sent a message, that he would not enter into the question, who had power to send him; but that, if he was not sent within three hours, he would infallibly burn the town about their ears. The inhabitants, to save themselves, obliged the viceroy to send the priest, who, when he came on board, excused himself to the admiral on account of the behaviour of the sailors. Blake with much calmness and composure told him, that, if he had complained of this outrage, he would have punished them severely; for he would not suffer any of his men to affront the established religion of a place where he touched; but he blamed him for setting on a mob of Spaniards to beat them, "and he would have him and the whole world know, that none but an **ENGLISHMAN** should chastise an **ENGLISHMAN**"

In a short time after the destruction of the enemy's fleet at Teneriff, we find Blake cruising again off the harbour of Cadiz, where perceiving his ships were become foul, and that his own health and spirits hourly wore away, he resolved to sail for England. His distemper was a complication of dropsy and scurvy, brought upon him by being for three years together at sea, and wanting all that time the conveniencies requisite for the cure of his disease. In his passage home, he became so sensible of his approaching end, that he frequently inquired for land, a mark of his affection for his native soil, which, however he did not live to see, dying as his ship the *St. George* entered Plymouth-sound, on the 17th of August, 1657, at about fifty-nine years of age. His body was the next day embalmed and wrapped in lead, his bowels taken out, and buried in the great church at Plymouth, and his corpse, by order of the protector, conveyed by water to Greenwich-house, from whence he resolved to have it carried in great pomp to Westminster-abbey, and there interred with the utmost solemnity, as the last mark of respect that could be paid by men to

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the noble spirit which once animated this tenement of clay.

On the fourth of September, after the corpse had lain several days in state, it was carried from Greenwich in a magnificent barge, covered with velvet, adorned with escutcheons and pendants, accompanied by his brothers, remoter relations, and their servants, in mourning; by Oliver's privy-council, the commissioners of the admiralty and navy, the lord-mayor and aldermen of London; the field-officers of the army, and many other persons of honour and quality, in a great number of barges and wherries, covered with mourning, marshalled and ordered by the heralds at arms, who directed and attended the solemnity. Thus they passed to Westminster-bridge, and, at their landing, proceeded in the same manner, through a guard of several regiments of foot, to the abbey. His dear friend, general Lambert, though then in disgrace with the protector, attended on his horse. The funeral procession over, the body was interred in a vault, built on purpose, in the chapel of Henry VII.

Dr. Bate, in drawing his character, says, "He was a man deserving praise even from an enemy. Being advanced to a command at sea, he subdued the Scilly islands near home; and having attained the office and title of an admiral, performed things worthy of immortal memory. For he humbled the pride of France, reduced Portugal to reason, broke the naval force of Holland, and drove them to the shelter of their ports, suppressed the rovers of Barbary, and twice triumphed over Spain. Alone blameable in this, that he complied with the parricides." Honest Anthony Wood, who observes, that he was admired and applauded by the royalists, in his blunt manner, celebrates his praises thus: "He was a man wholly devoted to his country's service, resolute in undertakings, and most faithful in the performance of them. With him, valour seldom missed its reward, nor cowardice its punishment."

MEMOIRS

MEMOIRS
OF
ILLUSTRIOUS SEAMEN, &c.
INCLUDING A NEW AND ACCURATE
NAVAL HISTORY.

C H A P. XVI.

The Naval History of GREAT-BRITAIN, during the reign of King Charles II. from the time of his restoration: containing a distinct account of the several expeditions against the Algerines; the two Dutch wars, and other naval transactions; the state of our foreign trade and plantations; with memoirs of all the eminent seamen who flourished in his reign.

WHEN the miseries flowing from the ruin of our old constitution had taught the nation, that the shortest as well as only way to peace and happiness, was to build up again what they had destroyed; the seamen shewed greater readiness than any other sort of men to execute this salutary design; and without waiting for any further orders than those which came from their officers,

ficers, chearfully carried the fleet over to the Dutch coast; where, after giving new names to the ships, they received his Majesty, the duke of York, and other persons of principal quality, who had attended him, on board, the 23d of May, 1660, and safely landed them in Kent.

For this service, Mr. Montague, who commanded the fleet, was created earl of Sandwich, had a garter, and was appointed vice-admiral of England, under his royal highness the duke of York. Sir John Lawson, Sir Richard Staynor, and other officers, received the honour of knighthood, and the king was pleased to promise the seamen in general a particular share in his favour and esteem.

In the beginning of this prince's administration, he certainly shewed a great attention to the public interest; and, as he had good natural abilities, and was inclined to look into naval affairs, so for some time he kept a strict eye on whatever related to the fleet. In September, 1660, the earl of Sandwich went with a squadron of nine men of war to Helvoetsluys, to bring over the king's sister, the princess of Orange, who not long after died in England.

Upon this occasion he received great honours in Holland; and it is conceived, that the affection which the people shewed for our king's nephew, the young prince of Orange, (afterwards King William), and for the English on his account, gave some jealousy to the states, which was increased by a memorial presented by the princess at her departure, recommending her son to their care, and desiring they would now declare their intentions of conferring upon him the charges and dignities which his ancestors had enjoyed. On the twenty-fourth of the same month the fleet returned; and his Majesty and the duke of York going on board the admiral's ship, named the Resolution, lay there that night, and reviewed and examined the state of every ship in the squadron next morning.

A treaty of marriage having been concluded between his Majesty and the infanta of Portugal, with whom he was to receive a portion of three hundred thousand pounds, the island of Bombay in the East-Indies, and the

the city of Tangier in Africa ; it became necessary to send a fleet to bring over the queen, and to secure the last-mentioned city against any attempt from the Moors. For this purpose the earl of Sandwich was again sent with a numerous fleet, which sailed on the 19th of June, 1661, from the Downs, after having been first visited by the duke of York.

His Lordship sailed first to Lisbon, and from thence to Tangier, which place was put into the hands of the English on the 30th of January, 1662, when the earl of Peterborough marched into it with an English garrison, and had the keys delivered to him by the Portuguese governor. The admiral then returned to Lisbon, where he received the queen's portion, consisting in money, in jewels, sugars, and other commodities, and in bills of exchange, and then sailed with her Majesty for England, and arrived at Spithead the 14th of May, 1662.

There was certainly no occasion for so large a fleet, merely to bring over the queen ; but as it afforded a fair pretence for sending such a force into the Mediterranean, this opportunity was seized to execute things of greater moment. To put an end to this, the earl of Sandwich with his fleet came before Algiers the 29th of June, 1661, and sent captain Spragge with the king's letter to the principal person in the government, and a letter of his own, with orders also to bring off Mr. Brown, the consul ; which was accordingly done. That evening a council of war was held, and the next morning certain propositions were made to the regency, by captain Spragge and consul Brown. About eleven o'clock these gentlemen returned on board the admiral, with an answer, that the government of Algiers would consent to no peace, whereby they were deprived of searching our ships. This insolence of these sea-robbers sprung out of the jealousy of the christian powers, who would never unite to crush this nest of pirates, and give the beautiful and rich country they inhabit to some prince of their own faith, which would be a benefit to all commercial nations.

In the mean time they wrought very hard at a boom, which, with much ado, they brought over from the
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mole-head to the opposite corner of their port; that, by the help of this, and many other new works which they had raised, they might be able to defend themselves from any attempts that could be made by sea. The earl of Sandwich, however, resolved to make a bold trial to burn the ships in the harbour, but the wind prevented him; so that, after a good deal of firing on both sides, wherein more hurt was done to the city than the ships, the admiral thought fit to sail for Lisbon, on the first of August, leaving Sir John Lawson with a strong squadron, to protect the English trade and harass the enemy; which he performed with such success, that after taking many of their ships, he, by degrees, forced all these pyrratical states to conclude a peace with Great-Britain, without any reservation as to their favourite article of searching our ships; though, it must be confessed, that the Algerines, retaining still a strong opinion of the strength of their fortifications, did not keep it long, but returned to their old practices; which obliged the government here to send fresh orders to Sir John Lawson, to employ force in bringing them to reason.

We are now to enter upon a more serious affair than any that had hitherto claimed the care of the English court. On his first return to the throne of his ancestors, King Charles and his ministers had certainly shewn a great concern for the true interest of the nation, as will appear to any attentive reader of our history, who observes the advantages we gained by the treaties of commerce which he concluded with Spain and Holland. By the former he secured the possession of Jamaica, though it had been acquired by Cromwell, and thereby obtained some sort of satisfaction for the injury intended him a little before his restoration, when it is certain that the Spaniards would have secured his person, if he had not prevented them by an unexpected retreat out of their dominions to Breda.

He also restored to the nation the advantages they drew from the Spanish trade; and the affection of this people to the English, preferable to any other nation, appeared in this, that they immediately fell out with the Dutch, and even forbade their ships of war to enter their ports,

as the Dutch writers themselves tell us. The treaty with Holland carried things also to a great height; for it not only secured the respect due to the English flag, but likewise procured some other concessions very honourable for the nation, and the island Pulo Ron, for the East-India company. His Majesty had also an intention to have secured absolutely and for ever the fishery on the British coast to his own subjects: but, before that could be effectually done, the war broke out; for the true grounds of which it is not over easy to account; and yet, without accounting for them, books of this nature can be but of little value.

The Dutch began early to conceive jealous prejudices against the king's government, and in reality to apprehend our becoming their superiors in commerce, in which we were every day visibly increasing. These sentiments engaged them, and especially their East and West India companies, which then carried on the greatest part of their commerce, to take various steps, in those parts of the world where their power prevailed, to the prejudice of the English. The East-India company particularly delayed the liquidation of the damages the English were to receive, peremptorily refused to deliver up the island before mentioned, and pretended to prescribe the places where, and the terms on which the English should trade in the rest of the ports of India. The other company trod exactly in their steps, and proceeded so far as to get Cape-corse castle into their hands, which belonged to the English company trading to Africa.

The duke of York was at this time governor of the African company, and, being informed of this, sent major, afterwards Sir Robert Holmes, with four frigates, to the coast of Guinea, in order to make reprisals. This was in 1661; and Sir Robert, in consequence of this commission, summoned the Dutch to surrender cape Verde to the company within a limited time, yet offered them the liberty to continue their trade there as before. He then proceeded to a small fort possessed by the Dutch, who, firing their cannon to prevent the landing of the English, were at length obliged to surrender; and the fort, being in the hands of our company,

company, received the name of James-fort in honour of the duke. From thence proceeding to the river Gambia, he dislodged the Hollanders, and built a new fort.

The Hollanders still refusing to deliver up to us cape Corfe, Sir Robert was sent a second time, *anno* 1663, with a small squadron, to take it out of their hands by force. But, searching a Dutch ship by the way, he found express orders (as king Charles informs the states in his letter, October 4, 1666) from the Dutch West-India company to their governor, general Valkenburg, to seize the English fort at Cormantin; which discovery disposed him to go, as he thought he had a right, beyond his original commission.

In the latter end of the month of January, 1664, Sir Robert Holmes arrived with his squadron at Cape Verde. This cape is part of the main land of Africa. About a cannon-shot from thence lies the now so well known island Goree, whereon were two forts. The lower fort was furnished with about twenty pieces of cannon, and the upper with eight: the former was called fort Nassau, the latter fort Orange. Sir Robert first summoned these two forts on the island Goree; and, because the governor refused to surrender, he attacked and took them next day, together with a ship called the Crocodile, lying under their protection, after having the evening before taken two other Dutch ships, called the Nisch-korf and the Vischer. In these forts he found a great quantity of goods ready to be shipped for Holland, and, among the rest, 20,000 hides. These he loaded on his own and the Dutch ships, and transported them to Sierra Liona.

He next proceeded to attack St. George del Mina, the strongest of all the Dutch forts; but though himself and his seamen acted with great bravery, yet the design miscarried, and he was obliged to sheer off with some loss. To repair this misfortune, he resolved to attack Cape-corfe castle, which, though it was so strong by situation, that 100 men might have kept it against 1000, yet he soon took it and some other places; after which he sailed from the coast of Guinea to North-America, where he reduced a Dutch settlement, called the New Netherlands,

Netherlands, in the month of August, 1664, changing the name into that of New-York, in honour of the duke.

These proceedings were hitherto of a private nature. The injuries done to the English were done by the Dutch West-India company; the reprisals made by the English were under the charter of the African company; the crown had not either fitted out Sir Robert Holmes, or given him any commission. But when the news of what was done reached Holland, the de Witte faction resolved instantly to fall upon the English in those parts with a great fleet, and this without any declaration of war, or even intimation of their design to repair themselves in damages for what, without any royal commission, Holmes had taken from them.

The chief difficulty lay in sending such a fleet safely into those seas, before the design could be known in England, and the project formed by them, as it was in contrivance very subtle and fraudulent, so it was executed with equal cunning and success. Admiral de Ruyter was at that time in the Mediterranean, where he had orders either to make a peace with, or at least to defend their merchants from the insults of the piratical states; to which end, as we before observed, Sir John Lawton was also there with a squadron of English ships, and the states requested of king Charles, that these two admirals might act in conjunction. Yet now it was thought convenient to remove de Ruyter from thence, and to send him to commit hostilities against us, then acting as their allies, on the coast of Guinea, and in the West-Indies. To this he was himself well enough inclined, from a difference that had happened between him and Sir John Lawton about the salute at sea, which the Dutch admiral paid, and Sir John refused to return, alledging, that his orders did not allow him to strike to the subjects of any king or state whatever. In other respects he assisted the Dutch as friends and allies as much as was in his power.

The majority of the states-general of the united provinces were not for a war with England, and consequently such orders as the ministers of the de Witte party wanted, to authorise de Ruyter, were not to be
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had from them in a fair and open way; yet, rather than not have them, the Louvestein faction resolved to sacrifice their constitution. De Ruyter had sent home an account of his proceedings against the pirates: they got this report referred to a committee of seven who were in their interests, and this committee drew up an order, directing the admiral to sail to the coast of Guinea, there to make reprisals upon the English. But, as this order must be read to, and approved by the states, the ministers took care to draw it up in loose and equivocal terms, procuring also the secretary to read it over to them in such a hurry as rendered it altogether unintelligible; then they thrust it among some orders of course, and engaging such as they thought would be against it, in private conversation, it was read without being attended to, or its importance apprehended. Lastly, it was brought with a bundle of papers, most of them mere matters of form, to be signed by the president for the week, who, as usual, set his hand to this amongst the rest, without reading. This is a true state of the fact, as reported by the Dutch historians.

When de Ruyter received this order, he did not communicate it to his officers, but, having first got such a supply of provisions as he thought might be necessary, pretended to have sudden information of certain pirates cruising near the Canaries; and, under colour of giving chase to these, he sailed to Cape de Verde, and so far executed his commission, as to oblige the governors for our African company either to surrender or demolish several of their forts. He likewise seized a great quantity of goods belonging to that company: after which he made himself master of fort Cormantin, a place which was built by, and had always been in the possession of the English. But Cape Corse and Chama (two of the places taken by Sir Robert Holmes) remained unreduced. From the coast of Guinea de Ruyter sailed to Barbadoes, where he attacked a considerable fleet of merchant ships lying under protection of the forts, but was repulled with great loss. Then passing over to Montserrat, Nevis, and Newfoundland, he took above twenty sail of English ships, and so returned to Holland.

These actions on both sides served to exasperate the two nations, and to hasten the preparations for war; which was proclaimed by the Dutch in January, and by the English in February, 1665. But, before it came to that, the Heer van Goch was sent by the states to importune the king with memorials and complaints. To which the king's answer was, that he had received no particular information of the

affairs in Guinea, and that the two companies must decide their disputes. These complaints of the ambassadors being likewise retaliated by the English merchants, whose incessant representations of their wrongs obliged the king to repeat his demands of satisfaction, as the constant refusal of the satisfaction demanded was the cause of the open rupture.

The first action of consequence, that happened after the war actually broke out, was the attacking a Dutch fleet coming richly laden from Smyrna upon the Spanish coast near Cadiz. It consisted of forty merchant ships, some of them very large, and well provided with ordnance, and their convoy was composed of four third-rate men of war. Sir Thomas Allen, who commanded the English squadron, had with him about nine ships. With these he attacked the enemy so successfully, that having killed their commodore Brackel, and taken or sunk four of their richest ships, he drove the rest into the bay of Cadiz, where for some time he blocked them up. A misfortune of the same kind befel the Dutch Bourdeaux fleet, out of which about 130 ships were taken. Some of these, however, appearing to be French bottoms, were discharged; but the far greater part were declared good prizes.

These heavy misfortunes obliged the Dutch to lay an immediate embargo on all vessels in their ports, by which their fisheries, and all the annual commerce, were stopped for that season. They likewise settled a fund of fourteen millions of guilders for the support of the war; and, in order to shew that there ought to be some difference between such as are made by trading nations, and those entered into by arbitrary princes, for the mere thirst of dominion; they ordered about fifty English and Scots vessels, which had been seized in their harbours, to be set at liberty; and, on the arrival of those ships in England, the civility was returned by a like release of all the Dutch ships that had been stopped here.

The English fleet was first ready, though the Dutch were the first who began to arm. This fleet of ours consisted of one hundred and fourteen sail of men of war and frigates, twenty-eight fire ships and ketches, and had about twenty-two thousand seamen and soldiers on board. The whole was commanded by the duke of York, as lord high admiral, Prince Rupert was admiral of the white, and the earl of Sandwich of the blue. April 21, 1665, the English sailed for the Dutch coast, and on the 28th sent in a squadron so near the shore and harbour of the Texel, that
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the country was exceedingly alarmed. After remaining there a month, the fleet was so ruffled by a storm, that it was found necessary to retire towards our own shore.

This opportunity the Dutch took of sending out their fleet, which, by the latter end of May, appeared about the Dogger Sands. They were divided into seven squadrons, the first under Opdam, consisting of fourteen men of war, and two fire ships; the second under John Everts, of the like force; the third commanded by admiral Cortenaer, consisting of fourteen men of war and one fire ship; the fourth was under Stillingwert, composed likewise of fourteen men of war and a fire ship; the fifth conducted by Van Tromp, the son of the famous old admiral, made up of sixteen men of war and two fire ships; the sixth under Cornelius Everts, consisting of fourteen men of war and a fire ship; the last commanded by Schram, in which were sixteen men of war and two fire ships; in all, a hundred and three men of war, eleven fire ships, and seven yachts. A mighty fleet, far superior to what the French conceived it possible for the states to fit out, and well furnished with men; but this was by the help of their India ships, whence they were mostly taken, partly by persuasion, and partly by force.

The duke of York being retired with our navy from the Dutch coast when they came out, afforded them an opportunity to fall on our Hamburg fleet, which they did not neglect; and they were so fortunate therein as to take the greatest part, by which our merchants suffered near two hundred thousand pounds loss. This exceedingly exasperated the English, and at the same time raised not a little the spirits of the Dutch.

Admiral Opdam, who commanded the latter, was a prudent as well as a truly gallant commander. The great John de Witte raised him to this envied employment; but finding him inclined to the prince of Orange, he became his enemy, and as soon as he was out at sea wrote him a letter, directing him to fight at all events, and this with such a peculiar quickness of style, as proved the letter his, though written in the name of the states. Opdam resolved to obey these orders, though contrary to the advice of most of his officers, and his own opinion, as appeared by his sending ashore his plate before the engagement: but more so from his expressions on taking the sentiments of a council of war: "I am," said he, "entirely in your sentiments; but here are my orders. To-morrow my head shall be bound with laurel or with cypress:" and in this disposition he

failed to find out the English navy. That did not require much time; for the duke of York was no less eager to revenge the loss of the *Hamburgh* fleet. On the 3d of June the English and Dutch navies engaged about three in the morning off *Leostoff*, when, by an oversight of the Dutch, the English had the weather-gage, an advantage they knew how to use as well as keep.

This went at first very equally on both sides, several squadrons charging through and through, without any remarkable advantage. But about noon, the earl of Sandwich, with the blue squadron, fell into the center of the Dutch fleet, divided it into two parts, and began that confusion which ended in a total defeat. The duke of York in the *Royal Charles*, a ship of eighty guns, and admiral Opdam in the *Eendracht*, of eighty-four, were closely engaged. The fight continued for some hours with great obstinacy, and his royal highness was in the utmost danger. Several persons of distinction were killed on board his ship, particularly the earl of Falmouth, the king's favourite, Lord Muskerry and Mr. Boyle, son to the earl of Corke, and so near the duke, that he was covered with their blood and brains; nay, a splinter from the last mentioned gentleman's skull razed his hand. About one, the Dutch admiral blew up, with a prodigious noise; but how the accident happened is uncertain. Some say, a shot fell into the powder room; others, that Opdam's black blew up the ship, to be revenged of his master for beating him. The most probable account is, that it was occasioned by some accident in distributing the powder. In this vessel, together with the admiral, perished five hundred men, only five of the whole crew escaping; many of those lost were volunteers, of the best families of Holland, and not a few Frenchmen, who took this opportunity of being present in a sea fight.

A little after this unlucky blow, the Dutch received still a greater. Four fine ships, the biggest of sixty, the least of forty guns, ran foul on each other, and were burnt by one fire ship: soon after, three larger vessels by the same accident shared the same fate. The *Orange*, a ship of seventy-five guns, after a most gallant defence, was also burnt; and thus, towards four in the afternoon, all fell into confusion. Vice-admiral Stillingwert was shot through the middle by a cannon ball; vice admiral Cortenaer received a shot in his thigh, of which he instantly died. These ships bearing out of the line on the death of their commanders, without striking their flags, drew many after them; so, that, by

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eight at night, Tromp, who held out bravely to the last, and fought retreating, had not above thirty ships left with him. This was the most signal victory the English ever gained, and the severest blow the Dutch ever felt at sea.

According to our accounts, which upon a strict examination I have always found moderate, the Dutch had eighteen ships taken, and fourteen sunk in this action, besides such as were burnt or blown up. Yet their accounts admit of no more than nine ships taken, one (their admiral) blown up, and eight burnt. As to our loss, which was far more unaccountable, there is no dispute about it. We lost the *Charity*, a ship of forty-six guns, with most of her men, in the beginning of the fight; had in the whole but two hundred and fifty men killed, and three hundred and forty men wounded: on the other side, they lost at least six thousand men, including two thousand three hundred taken prisoners. Yet some great men of ours bought this advantage to their country at the expence of their blood, such as the earls of Portland and Marlborough, vice admiral Sampson, and Sir John Lawson, who died of a wound he received in the knee, though he survived the battle.

The Dutch ascribe this signal defeat in a great measure to the ill conduct of their own officers and seamen, many of whom, according to the genius of the nation, were severely punished.

There is very little room to doubt, that if there had not been some mismanagement on the side of the English, this, as it was the first, might have been also the last action in this war; for the Dutch fleet fled in great confusion, their captains behaving ill, and their admirals quarrelling about the command.

It is far from being an easy matter to inform the reader, how this came to pass. But after having examined the point, with as much impartiality, as well as diligence, as the great importance of it deserved, it appears to have stood thus. The duke, in quality of lord high admiral, had two captains on his ship, Sir William Penn, who had the rank of a vice admiral; and captain, afterwards Sir John Harman. Sir William was gone to rest, as well as the duke, so that the command remained in captain Harman, who was himself at the helm, when one Mr. Brunker, who was of the duke's bedchamber, came and told him, "that he ought to consider, how much his royal highness's person had been already exposed in the action, and how much greater risk he might run, if their ship, which was the headmost of the fleet, should fall in single with those of the enemy,"



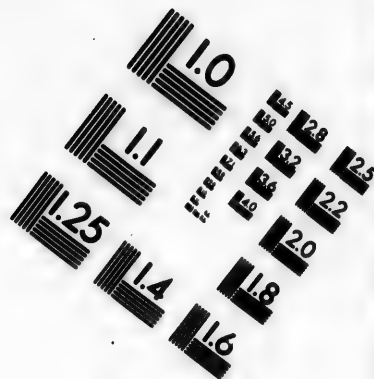
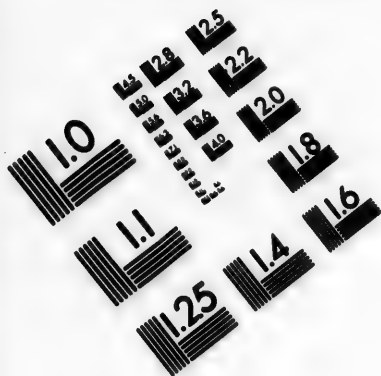
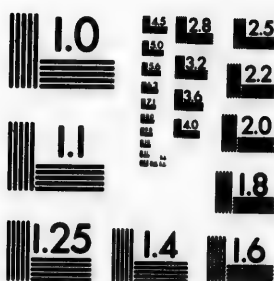


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“ enemy, upon their own coasts.” Harman heard him, but answered like an honest brave man, as he was, that he could do nothing without orders. Brounker upon this, went to the duke’s cabin, and returned with orders, in his royal highness’s name, to make less sail; these captain Harman, without the least scruple, obeyed, which created some confusion in the English fleet, several ships being very near running foul on each other.

In the morning, the duke expressed surprise and resentment, to find they were at such a distance from the Dutch. It then appeared, that either through cowardice, or something worse, Brounker had carried captain Harman orders, which he never received. However, this was concealed from his royal highness, and other excuses made, such as a brisk wind from shore, and their fire ships being all spent. However, at the end of the war, when the House of Commons was out of humour, this affair was mentioned, and inquired into; upon which Brounker, who was a member, was most deservedly expelled, and ordered to be impeached, but that was never prosecuted.

His royal highness left the fleet soon after, and returned to London, to make a report of all things to the king. His majesty having attended his mother to the coasts, went on board the Royal Charles in the river, where he made a strict inquiry into the conduct of the officers, and the state of their ships; and receiving satisfaction as to both, he there, as an encouragement to a like behaviour, knighted the most considerable commanders, viz. admiral Tyddiman, captain Cuttings, captain Jordan, captain Spragge, &c. after which, he directed that all the ships should be repaired with the utmost diligence, and the fleet, as soon as possible, be put into a condition to go out to sea again.

The king’s command, their generous sense of their late victory, and the news of the two rich Dutch squadrons being at sea, quickly brought out the English navy, to the number of sixty sail; and on the fifth of July, they steered from Southwold bay, into which they put immediately after the last engagement, for the coast of Holland. The standard was borne by the gallant earl of Sandwich, to whom Sir George Ayscue was vice, and Sir Thomas Tyddiman rear admiral. Sir William Penn was admiral of the white, Sir William Berkely vice admiral, and Sir Joseph Jordan rear admiral. The blue flag was carried by Sir Thomas Allen, whose vice and rear were, Sir Christopher Minnes, and Sir John Harman. The designs they had in view were, to intercept de Ruyter in his return, or at least

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to take and burn the Turkey and East-India fleets, of which they had certain intelligence.

They succeeded in neither of their schemes. De Ruyter returned unexpectedly by Scotland, and arrived safely in Holland, where he was immediately promoted to the chief command of the fleet. The Turkey and India fleet, consisting of twenty sail, under the command of commodore Bitter, chose to take the same northern route, in hopes of avoiding the English navy; but having intelligence at sea, that this would prove very difficult, if not impossible, they took shelter in the port of Berghen in Norway.

The port was pretty easy of access, and covered only by an old castle; the Danish governor promised the Dutch to do for them what he could, and they were willing to contribute as much as in them lay to render him able. In order to this, they landed forty-one pieces of cannon, which were disposed on a line before the fort: then the Dutch drew another line cross the bay, consisting of their largest ships; and in this posture they waited for the English. It was not long before they appeared; for the earl of Sandwich having advice of their being put into Berghen, had detached Sir Thomas Tyddiman with fourteen sail of men of war, and three fire ships, to attack them. This he performed with great courage, though the wind was against them, and the enemy made a prodigious fire from the castle, the line, and the ships; so that at last he was forced to bear out of the bay, and this he performed without the loss of a ship, though he had five or six very ill treated.

The states by this time, partly by threats, partly by punishment, but still more by promises and rewards, had again manned out a stout fleet. Admiral de Ruyter had the command of it, which gave no small displeasure to Tromp; but he grew into a better temper, when he perceived that his competitor had the command only in appearance. Their great statesman de Witte, not satisfied with directing all things in the Dutch councils, resolved also to direct their fleets; to which end he got himself, and two other deputies, Messrs. Huygens and Boreel, appointed to attend the admiral.

The pensionary gained a very great reputation in his new character, even before the fleet put to sea. When he came on board the fleet in the Texel, the pilots, captains, and admirals, were unanimously of opinion, that they must wait for a fair wind in order to get out, though there were two passages. As to the larger, they said, that two and twenty

twenty winds might absolutely hinder a fleet from sailing through it; and that in respect to the latter, it was too shallow for large ships to pass. M. de Witte, who was no seaman, inquired into the reason why so many winds should keep them in, and the next morning demonstrated to the pilots upon their own principles, that no winds blowing from more than four of these points, could produce this effect; which experience has since fully justified. Yet the wind being at that time in one of these four points, de Witte went the same day and examined the Spanish passage with a lead, and having done this, he and Mr. Van Haaren, who accompanied him, undertook with the next tide, to carry out two of the largest ships in the fleet, which they performed very safely, and the rest followed the next day; and ever since this has been called *DE WITTE'S PASSAGE*.

The point he had principally in view was, to bring off the East-India fleet from Berghen, which was a very difficult thing, considering the English fleet was then at sea. He found means, however, to pass by them, and arrived safely before Berghen, where the Dutch had found a new enemy in their old defender. The Danish governor modestly desired a hundred thousand crowns for the assistance he had given them in the late affair, and threatened to sink them without ceremony, if they offered to stir out of the port before they had complied with his demand. The arrival of the fleet made him change his language: he was content they should sail then without paying the money; but in order to have somewhat towards it, he kept the cannon they had put ashore.

Thus far de Witte was very successful; but in his return home, the fleet was scattered by a storm, in which were lost two fire-ships, and some of the merchant-men. The vice-admiral, and rear-admiral of the East-India fleet, ships of very great value, with four men of war, were taken by five English frigates, which the same storm had separated from our fleet; and soon after, four of their men of war, two fire-ships, and thirty merchant-men, joined our fleet instead of their own, and by this mistake were all taken; which ended the operations of this year.

The French perceiving that the scales were no longer even, but that the Dutch would certainly be destroyed, if left entirely to themselves; or, which they more apprehended, would be forced to make such a peace as we should prescribe, resolved to declare in their favour.

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It quickly appeared, that France, by taking this measure, meant to make herself at once a maritime power; for having promised to assist the Dutch with a fleet of six and thirty men of war, they were thus made up. Twelve were built by Dutch carpenters, in the Dutch docks; twelve more were made out of large Indiamen, purchased in the same country, and the other twelve were either built or bought in the ports of Denmark. Besides this, the French minister, the count d'Estrades, insisted upon the delivering up two East-India ships, of which the Dutch had made prizes, and wrested from them many other concessions, to purchase his master's declaration in their favour, agreeable to his secret treaty anno 1662, which was the genuine source of this war, and a long train of miseries with which this state was afflicted.

When this was done, the French were for setting on foot a negotiation; but king Charles being then in the true interest of his subjects, was very deaf on that ear. He said, the Dutch had injured England to the amount of two millions; and if they thought fit to pay so much money, he was willing to grant them a peace without any mediation at all.

The next year opened a new scene; the king recalled his ambassador, lord Holles, from the French court, and sent the earl of Sandwich in that quality to Spain: two of the wisest steps in his whole reign; for, by the first, he broke entirely (for this time at least) with that perfidious court; and, in consequence of the second, he concluded the most beneficial treaty of commerce, that was ever made for this nation. As to naval affairs it was resolved, that the fleet should be commanded by prince Rupert, and the duke of Albemarle; the former to look after the French, who began to talk very high, and the latter to act against the Dutch.

Before we speak of the consequences of these capital undertakings, it may not be amiss to take some notice of an incident which happened at Lisbon, because it shews the gallant spirit of that age. There were in that port a considerable number of English merchantmen, which were to come home under the convoy of the Guinea frigate. A large French man of war was also there, and the captain daily boasted to the Portuguese what he would do whenever the English frigate put to sea. This coming to the ears of captain Coite, who commanded her, he sent the Frenchman word he would sail the next morning, which he performed accordingly; but having hovered on the coast

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three days, in expectation of being chased, he returned into port, carried out his fleet of merchant-men, and brought them safe into the river Thames, the Frenchman continuing all the while quiet in the harbour of Lisbon.

Prince Rupert, and the duke of Albemarle, went on board the fleet on the 23d of April, 1666, and sailed with it in the beginning of May. Towards the latter end of that month, the court was informed, that the French fleet, under the command of the duke of Beaufort, were coming out to the assistance of the Dutch. But this rumour of their joining the Dutch, was spread by the court of France, in order to deceive us, and distress the Dutch. Upon the receiving this news, the court sent positive orders to prince Rupert to sail with the white squadron to look out and fight the French; which command that brave prince obeyed, but found it, what many wise people before thought it, a mere gasconade intended to hurt us, and to raise the courage of their new allies, in order to bring them into still greater dangers.

At the same time prince Rupert sailed from the Downs, the Dutch with their whole force put to sea, the wind at north-east, and having a fresh gale. This brought the Dutch fleet on the coasts of Dunkirk, and carried away his highness towards the Isle of Wight; but the wind suddenly shifting to the south-west, and blowing hard, brought both the Dutch and the duke of Albemarle with his two squadrons to an anchor. Captain Bacon in the Bristol first discovered the enemy, and, by firing his guns, gave notice of it to the English fleet. Upon this a council of war was called, wherein, without much debate, it was resolved to fight the enemy, notwithstanding their great superiority.

After the departure of prince Rupert, the duke of Albemarle had with him only sixty sail; whereas the Dutch fleet consisted of ninety-one men of war, carrying four thousand seven hundred and sixteen guns, and twenty-two thousand four hundred and sixty-two men. It was the first of June when they were discerned, and the duke was so warm for engaging, that he attacked the enemy before they had time to weigh anchor; and, as de Ruyter himself says in his letter, they were obliged to cut their cables; and in the same letter he also owns, that, to the last, the English were the aggressors, notwithstanding their inferiority and other disadvantages. The English fleet had the weather-gage, but the wind bowed their ships so much, that they could not use their lowest tier. Sir William Berkley's

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squadron led the van. The duke of Albemarle, when he came on the coast of Dunkirk, to avoid running full on a sand, made a sudden tack, and this brought his top-mast by the board, which compelled him to lie by for four or five hours, till another could be set up. The blue squadron knowing nothing of this, sailed on, charging through the Dutch fleet, though they were five to one.

In this engagement fell the brave Sir William Berkley, and his ship, the *Swiftsure*, a second rate, was taken; so was the *Essex*, a third rate; and Sir John Harman, in the *Henry*, had the whole Zealand squadron to deal with. His ship being disabled, the Dutch admiral Cornelius Everts, called to Sir John, and offered him quarter, who answered, "No, Sir! it is not come to that yet;" and immediately discharged a broadside, by which Everts was killed, and several of his ships damaged; which so discouraged their captains, that they quitted the *Henry*, and sent three fire-ships to burn her. At last, when the ship began to blaze, the boatswain of the *Henry* threw himself on board, and having, by its own light, discovered and removed the grappling irons, in the same instant jumped back on board his own ship. He had scarce done this, before another fire-ship was fixed on the larboard, which did its business so effectually, that the sails being quickly on fire, frightened the chaplain and fifty men overboard. Upon this, Sir John drew his sword, and threatened to kill any man who should attempt to provide for his own safety by leaving the ship. This obliged them to endeavour to put out the fire, which in a short time they did; but the cordage being burnt, the cross-beam fell and broke Sir John's leg, at which instant the third fire-ship bore down; but four pieces of cannon loaded with chain-shot disabled her: so that, after all, Sir John brought his ship into Harwich, where he repaired her as well as he could, and, notwithstanding his broken leg, put to sea again to seek the Dutch. The battle ended on the first day about ten in the evening.

The following night was spent in repairing the damage suffered on both sides, and next morning the attack was renewed by the English with fresh vigour. Admiral Van Tromp, with vice-admiral Vander Hulst, being on board one ship, rashly engaged it among the English, and their vessel was in the utmost danger of being either taken or burnt. The Dutch affairs, according to their own account, were now in a desperate condition; but admiral de Ruyter at last disengaged them, though not till his ship was disabled,

disabled, and vice-admiral Vander Hulst killed. This only changed the scene; for de Ruyter was now as hard pressed as Tromp had been before. However, a reinforcement arriving preserved him also; and so the second day's fight ended earlier than the first.

The third day, the duke of Albemarle found it necessary to retreat; and he performed it with wonderful courage and conduct. He first burnt three ships that were absolutely disabled: he next caused such as were most torn to sail before; and, with twenty-eight men of war that were in a pretty good condition, brought up the rear. Sir John Harman, indeed, says he had but sixteen ships that were able to fight. Yet, in the evening, his grace, discovering the white squadron coming to his assistance, resolved to engage the enemy again. In joining prince Rupert, a very unlucky accident happened; for Sir George Ayscue, who was on board the Royal Prince, the largest ship in the whole fleet, ran upon the Galloper; and being in danger of burning, and out of all hopes of relief, was forced to surrender; and night then falling, ended this day's engagement.

On the 4th of June, the Dutch, who were still considerably stronger than the English, were almost out of sight; but the duke of Albemarle, having prevailed on the prince to follow them, about eight in the morning they engaged again, and the English fleet charged five times through the Dutch; till prince Rupert's ship being disabled, and that of the duke of Albemarle very roughly handled, about seven in the evening the fleets separated, each side being willing enough to retire. In this day's engagement fell that gallant admiral Sir Christopher Minnes, who, having a shot in the neck, remained upon deck, and gave orders, keeping the blood from flowing, with his fingers, above an hour, till another shot pierced his throat, and put an end to his pain.

This was the most terrible battle fought in this, or perhaps in any other war, as the Dutch admirals themselves say; and the pensioner de Witte, who was no flatterer of our nation, yet too quick a man not to discern, and of too great a spirit to conceal the truth, said roundly upon this occasion, "If the English were beat, their defeat did them more honour than all their former victories; their own fleet could never have been brought on after the first day's fight, and he believed none but theirs could; and all the Dutch had discovered was, that Englishmen might be killed, and English ships burnt; but that the

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"English courage was invincible." Of this panegyric it is hard to determine, whether it does more honour to him who made it or to the English nation.

After all, it is by no means easy to say who were victors upon the whole, or what was the loss of the vanquished. Some Dutch writers talk of thirty-five ships, and between five and six thousand men lost by the English; which is more than half their fleet, and very little less than all their seamen. Their best historians, however, compute our loss at sixteen men of war, of which ten were sunk, and six taken. Our writers say, the Dutch lost fifteen men of war, twenty-one captains, and five thousand men: themselves own the loss of nine ships, and that there was a most prodigious slaughter of their seamen.

The duke of Albemarle was much blamed for his rashness, and great contempt of the Dutch. It seems he was of the same sentiment with Blake, and thought that fighting was, almost on any terms, preferable to running away.

The Dutch had once more the credit of appearing at sea before the English, their ships having in these engagements suffered less. They first affected to brave us on our own coasts, and next go in search of their French allies, who certainly never meant to afford them any real assistance. It was not long before the English appeared. The fleet consisted of eighty men of war, great and small, and nineteen fire-ships, divided into three squadrons: the red under prince Rupert and the duke of Albemarle, who were on board the same ship, Sir Joseph Jordan their vice, and Sir Robert Holmes their rear admiral. Sir Thomas Allen was admiral of the white, and had under him Sir Thomas Tyddiman, and rear-admiral Utburt. Sir Jeremiah Smith carried the blue flag, and his officers were Sir Edward Spragge and rear-admiral Kempthorne. The Dutch, according to their own accounts, had eighty-eight men of war, and twenty fire-ships, divided also into three squadrons, under lieutenant-admiral de Ruyter, John Everts, and Van Tromp.

On the 25th of June, about noon, the English came up with the enemy off the north foreland. Sir Thomas Allen with the white squadron began the battle by attacking Everts. Prince Rupert and the duke, about one in the afternoon, made a desperate attack upon de Ruyter, whose squadron was in the centre of the Dutch fleet, and, after fighting about three hours, were obliged to go on board another ship. In this space the white squadron had entirely defeated their enemies, admiral John Everts, his vice-admiral

miral de Vries, and his rear-admiral Keonders, being all killed, the vice-admiral of Zealand taken, and another ship of fifty guns burnt. The prince and duke sought de Ruyter ship to ship, disabled the Guelderland of sixty-six guns, which was one of his seconds, killed the captain of another, and mortally wounded two more; upon which the Dutch squadron began to fly. However, vice-admiral Van Nes stood bravely by de Ruyter, and his ship received great damage: yet, being at last deserted by all but seven ships, they yielded to necessity, and followed the rest of their fleet as fast as they could.

Admiral de Ruyter's ship was so miserably torn, and his crew so dispirited and fatigued, that he could have made but little resistance, and nothing but the want of wind hindered the English from boarding him. As for admiral Van Tromp, he was engaged with Sir Jeremiah Smith, and the blue squadron at a distance, and so could not assist his friends. As his was the strongest squadron of the Dutch fleet, and Smith's the weakest of the English, we had no great advantage on that side; yet some we had, his vice-admiral's ship being disabled, and his rear-admiral killed; which, however, did not hinder his fighting it out with much bravery as long as there was any light.

Admiral de Ruyter continued his retreat that night, and the next day prince Rupert and the duke of Albemarle pursued him, with part of the red squadron, with as much vigour as the wind would permit. A fire-ship bore down upon the Dutch admiral, and missed very little of setting him on fire. They then cannonaded again, when de Ruyter found himself so hard pressed, and his fleet in such eminent danger, that in a fit of despair he cried out, "My God, what a wretch am I! amongst so many thousand bullets, is not there one to put me out of my pain?" By degrees, however, he drew near their own shallow coast, where the English could not follow him. Upon this occasion prince Rupert insulted the Dutch admiral, by sending a little shallop called the Fanfan, with two small guns on board, which, being by force of oars brought near de Ruyter's vessel, fired upon him for two hours together; but at last a ball from the Dutch admiral so damaged this contemptible enemy, that the crew were forced to row, and that briskly, to save their lives. The enemy being driven over the flats into the wielings, the English went to lye at Schonevelt, the usual rendezvous of the Dutch fleets.

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This was the clearest victory gained during the whole war: the Dutch were miserably beaten, and their two great admirals de Ruyter and Tromp had nothing to do but to lay the blame on each other, which they did. In this battle the Dutch lost twenty ships; four admirals killed, and a great many captains: as to private men, there might be about 4000 slain, and 3000 wounded. The English had only the *Resolution* burnt, three captains killed, and about 300 private men.

On the 29th of July the English fleet weighed anchor, and steered their course for the *Ulie*; but, the wind being contrary, they did not make the island till the 7th of August. Being then come to anchor, prince Rupert and the duke of Albemarle received intelligence, that, notwithstanding there were very rich magazines on the islands, and a large fleet of merchantmen lying between them, yet *Ulie* and *Schelling* were very indifferently guarded; upon which it was resolved to attack them without delay.

Upon this, a council of flag-officers was called, in order to make the necessary dispositions for this great attempt. There it was resolved, that 300 men should be drawn out of each squadron, two thirds land and one third seamen, under nine captains, and the whole to be executed under the direction of Sir Robert Holmes, rear-admiral of the red, with whom went Sir William Jennings, who, in case it was found expedient to attack both islands at the same time, was to command one division. The ships appointed for this enterprize were five fourths, three fifths rates, five fire-ships, and seven ketches, as Sir Robert Holmes tells us.

On the 9th of August, about seven in the morning, this squadron weighed, divided from the rest of the fleet, and came to anchor about a league from the Buoys, where they met the prince's pleasure-boat called the *Fanfan*, the crew of which had discovered in the harbour a considerable fleet of ships near the *Ulie*, which proved to be 170 merchant-ships, the least of which was not of less than 200 tons burden, with two men of war, which had lately conveyed home near 100 of those ships from the northward, some from the Streights, some from Guinea, some from Russia, some from the east countries: the rest were outward-bound ships, all of which likewise were very richly laden.

Sir Robert Holmes, considering that if he should proceed, as his design was, first to attempt a descent on the land, that numerous fleet might possibly pour in such numbers

bers of men, as might render the success hazardous, resolved to begin with the ships; and accordingly, having ordered the *Advice* and the *Hampshire* to lye without the Buoy, he weighed with the rest of his fleet; and, the wind being contrary, he turned with much ado into Schelling road, where the *Tyger* came to anchor, and immediately Sir Robert went on board the *Fanfan*, and hoisted his flag; upon which the officers came on board him, and there it was ordered, that the *Pembroke* which drew the least water, with the five fire-ships, should fall in amongst the enemy's fleet with what speed they could.

Captain Brown with his fire-ship chose to lay the biggest man of war on board, and burnt the vessel downright. Another fire-ship running up at the same time to the other man of war, the captain, backing his sails, escaped the present execution of the fire-ship, but so as to run the ship on ground, where it was presently taken by some of the long-boats, and fired. The other three fire-ships clapped the three great merchantmen on board, which carried flags in their main-tops, and burnt them. This put their fleet into great confusion, which Sir Robert Holmes perceiving, made a signal for all the officers to come on board again, and presently gave orders, that Sir William Jennings, with all the boats that could be spared, should take the advantage, and fall in, sink, burn, and destroy all they could, but with a strict command, that they should not plunder. The execution was so well followed, each captain destroying his share, some twelve, some fifteen merchantmen, that, of the whole fleet, there escaped not above eight or nine ships, one of which was a *Guineaman* of twenty-four guns, and three small privateers: these ships, being driven up into a narrower corner of the stream, served to protect four or five merchantmen that were a-head of them, where it was not possible for our boats to come at them, though even these few were much damaged.

The next day it was found more expedient to land on the island of Schelling than upon that of *Ulie*, which was performed by Sir Robert Holmes, with eleven companies in his long-boats; and he debarked with little or no opposition. When he came on shore, he left one company to secure his boat, and with the other ten marched three miles farther up into the country to the capital town called *Bandar*, in which there were upwards of 1000 very good houses, where, keeping five companies upon the skirts of the town to prevent any surprize from the enemy, he sent the other five to set fire to the place: but finding them somewhat

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somewhat slow in executing that order, and fearing they might be tempted to forget themselves in order to pillage, he was himself forced to set fire to some houses to the windward, the sooner to dispatch the work, and hasten his men away, which burnt with such violence, that, in half an hour's time, most part of the town was in a bright flame. This place was reported, by those that were found in it, to have been very rich, and so it appeared by some of the soldiers pockets; but very few people were to be seen there, having had time to escape from the danger, except some old men and women, who were used by the English, after they fell into their hands, with all possible gentleness and humanity.

This blow, and that too in many respects, greatly affected the Dutch, who, according to their own accounts, suffered, by burning the town and magazines, the loss of near six millions of guilders; and, if we take the ships and their rich cargoes into this computation, they confess that they were losers to the amount of eleven millions; or 1,100,000 pounds sterling. We need not wonder that this wound cut very deep, and engaged the states to use their utmost diligence in fitting out a new fleet.

But, before we come to this expedition, it may not be amiss to introduce a passage, which hitherto has not found a place in our history. The destroying the Dutch ships, and the burning the town of Bandaris, though done by Englishmen, was no English project. One captain Heemskerck, a Dutchman, who fled hither for fear of his being called to an account for misbehaviour under Opdam, was the author of that dismal scene. After the return of the fleet, he was one day at court, and boasting, in the hearing of King Charles II. of the bloody revenge he had taken upon his country; that monarch, with a stern countenance, bid him withdraw, and never presume to appear again in his presence. He sent him, however, a very considerable sum of money for the service, with which he retired to Venice.

As soon as the fleet was ready, the command was bestowed on Michael de Ruyter, Tromp having at that time, in consequence of his dispute with de Ruyter, laid down his commission. This navy consisted of seventy-nine men of war and frigates, and twenty-seven fire-ships. The first design they had was to join the French Squadron, which Louis XIV. had promised to fit out for their assistance; in this they were most egregiously disappointed, and after a dangerous navigation, in which they were more than once

chased by a superior English fleet, they were glad to return, though fired with indignation at such usage, which, it is said, wrought so powerfully on the mind of the gallant de Ruyter, as to throw him into a fit of sickness.

When the French thought the coast was become pretty clear, they ventured out with their fleet; but Sir Thomas Allen attacking them with his squadron, boarded the *Ruby*, a fine ship of a thousand tons and fifty-four guns, and carried her in a short time, which so discouraged the French ministry, that they scarce trusted their navy afterwards out of sight of their own shore.

By the end of the year 1666, all parties began to grow weary of the war; and the king of Sweden having offered his mediation, it was readily accepted on both sides. On the one hand, the plague, the fire of London, and other national misfortunes, particularly the restlessness of factions, (a mischief from which we are very seldom long free,) engaged King Charles to be very earnest as well as sincere in his desires of a peace. The Dutch, on the other hand, needed it; they were drawn into the war to serve the purposes of their ministry, and many arts had been practised to keep them in it, though it was equally against their interests and their inclinations. Now, when France found pacific measures expedient, or rather was convinced that carrying the war on would serve only to raise the reputation of England, and to obscure their own, as well as ruin the Dutch; a treaty was set on foot at Breda, not only at the desire of the states, but by their express appointment both of time and place, in which they were indulged by King Charles, purely to shew the sincerity of his resolution. Whilst this treaty was thus negotiating, de Witte was resolved to put in practice his base project; which, though executed with success, and esteemed glorious for a moment, yet, in the end, proved fatal to his country, and more especially so to himself and his brother, who, to shew how much it was their own, had the immediate conduct and execution of it.

When the pensionary John de Witte was last on board the Dutch fleet, and, in the absence of the English navy, had cruised upon our coast, he took an opportunity of sending several persons to sound the mouth of the river Thames, in order to discover how far it might be practicable to make any attempt therein with large ships; and having by this means found, with what facility the project he had formed might be executed, he resolved to proceed in it, notwithstanding the negotiations for peace were then far advanced

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vanced. He at first opened himself to the count d'Éstrades, the French ambassador, who communicated his design to his court, where it met with the utmost approbation, and where measures were taken for rendering it effectual in its execution.

To this end it was necessary king Charles should be persuaded that there was no necessity of fitting out a fleet for this year, since that would have rendered the design of the Dutch statesman not only difficult and dangerous, but absolutely impracticable. With a view to this, the queen-mother was persuaded to write her son a letter, wherein she informed him, that his most christian majesty, and the states-general, had turned their thoughts entirely towards peace; and that it might have ill effects, if his majesty, by fitting out a great fleet, should alarm them on their own coasts, as in the preceding year. This advice, supported by the intrigues of the earl of St. Alban's, and agreeing with the king's temper and circumstances, whose ministers deceived, whose mistresses beggared, and whose courtiers plundered him, against whose measures a party was formed, many of whom, notwithstanding their vehement professions of patriotism, in reality meant little more than places and preferments, we need not wonder he fell so readily into it; for meanly covetous, and squandering needy princes, are alike liable to the greatest foible in governing; the preferring present gain to any future prospect whatever. Notwithstanding, therefore, his naval magazines were never better provided, king Charles, by a strange fatality, ordered only two small squadrons for the summer service, in 1667.

Things being thus in readiness, the last resolution was taken in Holland for the immediate execution of pensionary de Witte's project; and this resolution was signed by the French minister, as well as by the deputies of the states. His most christian majesty had promised that a squadron of his ships, under the command of the duke of Beaufort, should assist therein. However, that the issue of the thing might irritate the English against the Dutch only, the French as usual, waved the performance of their promise; when the matter, however, was so far advanced, that the Dutch found it impossible for them to go back. Yet the English ministers were treating all this time at Breda, where, from the beginning, there was a fair appearance of speedily concluding a peace.

The pretence made use of by John de Witte, for sitting out in the spring, was the mischief which had been done

to their navigation by the privateers from Scotland. In order to check these, admiral Van Ghendt was sent with a considerable fleet into the Frith, with orders to burn the coasts, and recover such ships as were in those ports. He appeared before Leith on the 1st of May, and might, if he had thought fit, have done a great deal of mischief; but he contented himself with cannonading Burnt-island to very little purpose. When the English court received the news of this proceeding, it confirmed them in their opinion, that there would be no fighting that year, and that this expedition was purely to quiet the minds of the people enough disturbed by their late losses. This shews the folly of trusting an enemy, and ought to be a warning to all British statesmen for the future. If the king at this time had pawned the jewels of the crown, or the crown itself, (as some of his predecessors did), to pay his seamen, and put a strong fleet to sea, he had turned the tables, made a good peace, and passed the remainder of his reign in quiet.

But pensionary de Witte, in the mean time, had hastily manned out a large fleet, under the command of de Ruyter, on board which he intended to have gone in person; but the French protested against this step, and therefore he was at last content to send Cornelius de Witte, his brother. Care had been taken to provide some of the old republican officers to command the troops which were to make a descent; and these also easily procured pilots to conduct the Dutch into our rivers and ports.

The fleet being ready, sailed over to the English coast, where it was joined by Van Ghendt, and consisted then of seventy men of war, besides fire ships. On the seventh of June they attacked Sheerness, which was at that time unfinished, and in no state of defence. Here they found fifteen iron guns, and a considerable quantity of naval stores. Though the court had scarce any warning of this attempt, yet the duke of Albemarle, Sir Edward Spragge, and other great officers, had made all imaginable provision for the defence of the river Medway, by sinking ships in the passage, throwing a chain across it, and placing three large vessels, which had been taken from the Dutch in this war, behind the chain. The Dutch had the advantage of a strong easterly wind, which encouraged them to endeavour burning our ships at Chatham, in spite of all these precautions so well and wisely taken to preserve them. It was on the twelfth they executed this design; which at last, however, had miscarried, if one captain Brakell, who was a prisoner on board their fleet for some misbehaviour, had not

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not offered (to wipe out the memory of his former mistake) to undertake breaking the chain, which he gallantly performed.

He also with great bravery boarded and took one of the English frigates which guarded the passage, soon after the Matthias, the Unity, and the Charles the Fifth, being the ships which, as we before observed, had been taken from the Dutch, were set on fire. The next day, the advantage of wind and tide continuing, they advanced with six men of war and five fire ships as high as Upmore castle, but were so warmly received by major Scot, who commanded therein, and Sir Edward Spragge, from the opposite shore, gave them so much disturbance, that they were quickly obliged to return. However, as they came back, they burnt the Royal Oak, a very fine ship, and in her captain Douglas, whose behaviour ought to perpetuate his memory. He had received orders to defend his ship, which he did with the utmost resolution; but having none to retire, he chose to be burnt with her, rather than live to be reproached with having deserted his command. On the fourteenth they carried off the hull of the Royal Charles, notwithstanding all the English could do to prevent it; which was what they had principally at heart. In their return, two Dutch men of war ran ashore in the Medway, and were burnt, which, with eight fire ships consumed in the action, and one hundred and fifty men killed, is all the loss acknowledged by the Dutch writers; though it was thought they really suffered much more.

De Ruyter, highly pleased with what he had performed, left admiral Van Nes with part of his fleet in the mouth of the Thames, and sailed with the rest to Portsmouth, in very sanguine hopes of burning the ships there. Failing in this design, he sailed westward to Torbay, where he was likewise repulsed. Then he returned back again to the mouth of the Thames, and with twenty-five sail came as high as the Hope, where our squadron lay, under the command of Sir Edward Spragge. This consisted of eighteen sail; yet, the admiral not being on board when the enemy began the attack, we suffered at first from their fire ships; but Sir Edward repairing with great diligence to his command, and being joined by Sir Joseph Jordan with a few small ships, quickly forced the Dutch to retire. The like success attended their attack on Land-guard fort, which was performed by sixteen hundred men, commanded by colonel Doleman, a republican, under the fire of their whole fleet: but governor Darrel, an old cavalier, beat them

them off with great loss. On the twenty-third, Van Nes sailed again up the river as far as the Hope, where he engaged Sir Edward Spragge, who had with him five frigates, and seventeen fire ships. This proved a very sharp action, at least between the fire ships, of which the Dutch writers themselves confess they spent eleven to our eight.

The next day the English attacked the Dutch in their turn; and, notwithstanding their superiority, forced them to retire, and to burn the only fire ship they had left to prevent her being taken. On the 25th they bore out of the river, with all the sail they could make, followed at a distance by Sir Edward Spragge, and his remaining fire ships. On the twenty-sixth, in the mouth of the river, they were met by another English Squadron from Harwich, consisting of five men of war, and fourteen fire ships. They boldly attacked the Dutch, and grappled the vice admiral of Zealand, and another large ship; but were not able to fire them, though they frightened a hundred of their men into the sea. The rear admiral of Zealand was forced on shore, and so much damaged thereby, as to be obliged to return home.

The Dutch fleets, though it was now very evident that no impression could be made, as had been expected, on the English coasts, continued still hovering about, even after they were informed that the peace was actually signed, and ratifications exchanged at Breda. Our writers are at a loss to account for this conduct; but a Dutch historian has told us very plainly, that Cornelius de Witte ordered all our ports, on that side, to be founded, and took incredible pains to be informed of the strength of our maritime forts, and the provision made for protecting the mouths of our rivers; which shewed plainly, that though this was the first, it was not designed to be the last visit they paid us.

While the whole Dutch fleet was employed in alarming our coasts, Sir Jeremiah Smith was sent with a small Squadron northwards; with which, and the assistance of a numerous fleet of privateers, already abroad for their own purpose, the Dutch commerce to the Baltic was in a manner ruined, and multitudes of rich prizes were daily brought into English ports. Thus it may be truly said, that the nations at this time changed characters. The Dutch preferred the insult at Chatham, which, all things considered, was of little or no consequence to them, to the preservation of their trade; and the English endeavoured to make themselves amends for this unexpected loss of a few men of war, by taking numbers of merchant-men.

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Such are the effects which private passions produce in public affairs.

The English, in the West-Indies, took the island of St. Eustatius, Salia, St. Martin, Bonaira, the island of Tobago, and other places, from the Dutch. On the contrary, the Dutch, under the conduct of commodore Krynfen, made themselves masters of Surinam; and the French, assisted by the Dutch, almost deprived the English of their half of the island of St. Christopher's, after several obstinate disputes, and the death of their commander les Salles. Six frigates, and some other small vessels from Barbadoes, sailing from thence to repair this loss, were so ill treated by a violent storm, that they were put out of a condition to execute their design, and two or three of the most disabled ships fell into the hands of the enemy; though, before their misfortune, they had burnt two Dutch ships richly laden, in the harbour of Los Santos. Some authors say, this little fleet was commanded by the lord Willoughby, and that himself was lost in the hurricane. The English were more successful in the neighbourhood of Surinam, where they destroyed the Dutch colony, took a fort belonging to the French, and afterwards made themselves masters of many rich prizes, at the expence of that nation.

The Dutch admiral Evertz, in conjunction with commodore Krynfen, recovered the island of Tobago, and did a great deal of mischief upon the coast of Virginia. In March, 1667, Sir John Harman was sent with a squadron of twelve men of war to redress these mischiefs. He performed all that he was sent for, and cleared the seas both of French and Dutch rovers; yet he had not been long there before he found himself pushed by a superior force. The Dutch commodore Krynfen, having embarked on board his squadron thirteen hundred land troops, sailed to Martinico, where he joined monsieur de la Barre, who commanded all the forces of the French king in those parts. Their fleet, after this junction, consisted of two and twenty sail of stout ships, with which they went to seek the English squadron upon the coast of St. Christopher's.

On the 10th of May, 1667, an engagement ensued, which lasted, with great vigour, for above three hours, in which the English, notwithstanding the superior force of the enemy, obtained a complete victory. The English admiral with his fleet came soon after thither, burnt the French admiral, and six or seven ships in the harbour, and either sunk himself, or obliged the French to sink, all the rest

rest of the ships that were there, except two, with the loss only of eighty men.

In the first of these engagements, our writers have observed, that the admiral, Sir John Harman, was exceedingly ill of the gout, so as not to be able to stir. On the firing, however, he started up, and went upon deck, gave his orders throughout the engagement, in which he acted with all the alacrity imaginable, and, when it was over became as lame as he was before. By these victories he became master in those seas, and took from the Dutch their plantation at Surinam; but, however, it was restored by the treaty, as not taken within the time limited by that treaty for the conclusion of hostilities.

There were three distinct treaties of peace signed at Breda, with the Dutch, the French, and the Danes, by the English ministers; who were Lord Holles and Mr. Coventry; which were ratified on the twenty-fourth of August, 1667. The terms upon which this peace was made, were safe and honourable, at least, though not so glorious and beneficial as might have been expected after such a war. By it the honour of the flag was secured, and the island of Poloron, to prevent further disputes, was yielded to the Dutch. In the West-Indies we kept all that we had taken, except Surinam, and the French were obliged to restore what they had taken from us in those parts.

It is certain that the king made this peace much against his will, and without obtaining what he expected from the war. The motives which induced him thereto, were chiefly these. First, disorders in his domestic affairs, which disquieted him with great reason. He found there was a strong disaffection amongst his subjects, which produced the late misfortune at Chatham; and, in case the war had continued, would have probably had still worse effects. And, secondly, the French king's design was become apparent; and his claim to the greatest part of the Spanish Netherlands openly avowed. If therefore, the quarrel between Great-Britain and Holland had subsisted any longer, the balance of power on the continent must have been immediately and irretrievably lost. Such were the true grounds of the peace at Breda; and whoever considers the situation of things at home and abroad at that juncture, will think it, upon the whole, as good a peace as could have been expected.

We succeeded better in our negotiations this year in other parts. The worthy and wise earl of Sandwich, concluded, on the thirteenth of May, a treaty with Spain, whereby

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whereby all old differences were settled, the friendship between the two crowns renewed and strengthened, and our commerce much extended. Soon after this, his lordship went to Lisbon, and there, by his mediation, a peace was made between the crowns of Spain and Portugal, by which the latter came to be owned by the former as an independent kingdom, and an end was put to a war which had already weakened each of the nations greatly, and might, if longer pursued, have been fatal to both. Towards the close of this year, his majesty sent Sir William Temple into Holland, in order to enter into a stricter correspondence with the states, and to concert with them the means of preserving Flanders from falling into the hands of the French. The Dutch, in general, and even the pensionary de Witte himself, now saw plainly they had been dupes to France in this war.

This shews that his majesty, for the present, laid aside his resentments for what had been done against him personally by the Dutch; and this for the sake of giving a check to the too great power of France. In consequence of Sir William's negotiation, was concluded the famous triple alliance between England, Sweden, and Holland; the most glorious step taken in this reign, and which, steadily pursued, would have crushed at the beginning that ambitious prince, whose projects never ceased disturbing his neighbours, till after being humbled by the arms of Britain, in a succeeding reign, he came to know himself, and deplore them on his death-bed. But, to return to our more immediate business.

The Dutch war being over, his majesty sent Sir Thomas Allen with a stout squadron into the Mediterranean, to repress the insults of the Algerines, who, taking advantage of our differences, had disturbed both the English commerce and the Dutch. The latter sent admiral Van Ghendt with a squadron to secure their trade; and he, having engaged six corsairs, forced them to fly to their own coasts, where probably they would have escaped, if commodore Beach with four English frigates, had not fallen upon them, and, after a close chase, obliged them to run aground. In this situation they were attacked by the English and Dutch in their boats, and, being abandoned by their respective crews, were all taken, and a great number of Christians slaves of different nations released. The English commodore presented sixteen Dutch slaves to admiral Van Ghendt, and received from him twenty English by way of exchange; but the Algerine ships being leaky were burnt. The same year

year some of our frigates attacked seven of the enemies best ships near Cape Gaeta. The admiral and vice admiral of the Algerines carried fifty-six guns each; their rear admiral, the biggest ship in the squadron, carried sixty, and the least forty. Yet, after a sharp engagement, the vice admiral was sunk, and the rest forced to retire, most of them miserably disabled. At the close of the year 1669, captain Kempthorne, (afterwards Sir John), in the *Mary Rose*, a small frigate, engaged seven Algerine men of war, and, after a very warm action, forced them to sheer off, being in no condition to continue the fight longer; of which we have a particular account.

It is somewhat extraordinary, that, considering the Dutch, as well as we, were concerned in attacking these pirates, we have no better account of the war carried on against them, or of the force they then had, but what we are left to collect as we can, from the scattered accounts of particular engagements with them. The only list I have seen, is of the state of their navy in 1668, and then it consisted of twenty-four ships great and small, that is, from about fifty to twenty guns: and they had likewise six new ships of force upon the stocks. Yet this pitiful enemy continued to disturb, and even to distress the commerce of both the maritime powers for several years.

At last, Sir Edward Spragge was sent in 1670, with a strong squadron of men of war and frigates, to put an end to the war. He cruised for some days before their capital, without receiving any satisfactory answer to his demands. Upon this he sailed from thence, with six frigates and three fire ships, to make an attempt upon a considerable number of those corsairs which lay in the haven of Bugia. By the way he lost the company of two of his fire ships; yet, not discouraged by this accident, he persisted in his resolution. Being come before the place, he broke the boom at the entrance of the haven, forced the Algerines aground, and burnt seven of their ships, which mounted from twenty-four to thirty-four guns, together with three prizes: after which he destroyed another of their ships of war near Teddeller. These and other misfortunes caused such a tumult among the Algerines, that they murdered their dey, and chose another, by whom the peace was concluded to the satisfaction of the English, on the ninth of December in the same year; and as they were now sufficiently humbled, and saw plainly enough that the continuance of a war with England must end in their destruction,

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they kept this peace better than any they had made in former times.

We are now come to the third Dutch war, (more frequently called the second, because it was in respect to this reign), and to account for the beginning of it will be no easy matter. It has been before shewn, that the last treaty of peace was made by king Charles against his will, and on terms to which force only made him consent. We need not wonder, therefore, that he still retained a dislike to the Dutch. Besides, there had been many other things done, sufficient to give distaste to any crowned head. For instance, their factory at Gambron in Persia, after the peace, burnt the king in effigy, having first dressed up the image in an old second-hand suit, to express the distress in which they knew him in his exile; for this, as the king thought it beneath him to demand, so the states-general looked upon themselves as above giving him any satisfaction.

They likewise suffered some medals to be struck, in which their vanity was very apparent. Amongst others, because the triple alliance had given a check to the power of France, and their mediation had been accepted in the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, they were pleased to arrogate to themselves the sole honour of giving peace to Europe, and of being arbiters among contending princes. Here, however, it must be owned, that, in making war upon them at this juncture, king Charles acted too much under the direction of French counsels.

By virtue of secret engagements with France, this war was to end in the total destruction of the republic of Holland. Part of her dominions was to be added to those of France, and the rest to fall to the share of England. In order to have a pretence for breaking with them, the captain of the Merlin yacht, with Sir William Temple's lady on board, had directions to pass through the Dutch fleet in the channel, and, on their not striking to his flag, was commanded to fire, which he did; yet, this not being thought enough, he was blamed instead of being rewarded for it; and, for not sufficiently asserting the king's right, he was, on his arrival in England, committed to the Tower. The pretence, however, thus secured, the French next undertook to lull the Dutch asleep, as they had us, when our ships were burnt at Chatham; and this too they performed, by offering their mediation to accommodate that difference which they had procured, and upon which the execution of all their schemes depended. Yet de Witte trusted to this, till, as the dupe of France, and the scourge of

of his own nation, he fell a sacrifice to the fury of an enraged people. The war once resolved on, Sir Robert Holmes, who began the former by his reprisals in Guinea, had orders to open this too, though as he did that, without any previous declaration, by attacking the Smyrna fleet.

This squadron of his majesty's ships was commanded by Sir Robert, who hoisted his flag in the *St. Michael*, as admiral; the earl of Ossory in the *Resolution*, as vice admiral; and Sir Fretcheville Holles, as rear admiral, in the *Cambridge*. They cruised in the channel on purpose to execute this scheme, of which, however, the Dutch had some notice, and sent advice-boats to direct their fleet to steer northwards. But these instructions came too late; for they were already so far advanced, that it was thought more dangerous to return than to proceed, and therefore in a council of war it was resolved to hold on their course. On the 13th of March five of our frigates fell in with this fleet, which consisted of about forty sail of merchant ships, and an escort of six men of war. When the English vessels came near them, they fired in order to make them strike, and lower their topsails, which they refused to do.

Upon this the fight began, which lasted till night, and was renewed the next morning, when the Dutch fleet was in a manner ruined; five of their richest merchantmen were made prizes, their rear admiral was boarded by captain John Holmes, brother to the admiral, and taken, but soon after sunk, and the rest of the men of war were very rudely handled. So the states understood it, and immediately dispatched deputies hither, and to the French king, to sue for peace.

In this, as in the former dispute with the Dutch, such ships as had been detained in port were dismissed on both sides, and, in the midst of a cruel war, the Dutch professed all imaginable esteem for the English nation; and, on the other hand, king Charles offered his royal protection to such as thought fit to quit their country in its present calamitous situation, and take shelter in his dominions. The war was solemnly declared on the 28th of March, 1672, in the cities of London and Westminster, and great pains were taken to impose upon the world a gross and groundless notion, that it was undertaken at the instance, or at least with the concurrence of the people in general; whereas they knew their interest too well not to discern how little this measure agreed with it; and therefore, though the king had then a parliament much to his mind, yet he found it extremely difficult to obtain supplies, while

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the Dutch, in the midst of all their miseries, went on receiving sixty millions of their money annually from their subjects. So great difference there is between taxes levied by authority, and money cheerfully paid to preserve the commonwealth.

The French king, that he might seem to perform his treaty with the English better than that which in the former war he made with the Dutch, sent the count d'Estrees, vice admiral of France, with a large squadron, to join the English fleet. He arrived at St. Helen's on the 3d of May; and immediately afterwards the king went down to Portsmouth, and, to shew his confidence in his new ally, went on board the ship of the French admiral, where he remained some hours. Our fleet in a short time sailed to the Downs, the duke of York, as high admiral, wearing the red, and the earl of Sandwich the blue. Soon after the French squadron joined them, their admiral bearing the white flag; and then the fleet consisted of one hundred and one sail of men of war, besides fire ships and tenders. Of these the English had sixty-five ships of war, and on board them four thousand ninety-two pieces of cannon, and twenty-three thousand five hundred and thirty men. The French squadron consisted of thirty-six sail, on board of which were one thousand nine hundred twenty-six pieces of cannon, and about eleven thousand men. The Dutch, in the mean time, were at sea with a very considerable fleet, consisting of ninety-one stout men of war, fifty-four fire ships, and twenty-three yachts. On the 9th of May they were seen off Dover, and the 13th of the same month a Dutch squadron chased the Gloucester, and some other ships, under the cannon of Sheerness.

The English fleet were at anchor in Solebay, on the twenty-eighth of May, when the Dutch fell in with them, and if they had not spent too much time in council, had certainly surprised them. As it was, many of the English captains were forced to cut their cables, in order to get time enough into the line of battle. The engagement began between seven and eight in the morning, when de Ruyter attacked the red squadron in the center, and engaged the admiral, on board of which was his royal highness the duke of York, for two hours, forcing his highness at last to remove to another ship. The Dutch captain, Van Brackell, attacked the earl of Sandwich in the Royal James; and while they were engaged, almost all the squadron of Van Ghendt fell upon the earl's ships. His lordship behaved with amazing intrepidity, killed admiral Van

Van Ghendt himself, sunk three fire-ships and a man of war that would have laid him on board; but then having lost all his officers, and two thirds of his men, his battered ship was grappled, and set on fire by a fourth fire-ship. Some of his men escaped; yet the earl continued on board till the flames surrounded him, where he perished; but left behind him a name immortal, and which will ever be revered by such as esteem the valour of an officer, the capacity of a statesman, or the integrity of a patriot.

The death of their admiral, with the furious attack of part of the blue squadron, coming in, though too late, to the earl of Sandwich's assistance, threw this part of the Dutch fleet, which had been commanded by Van Ghendt, into very great confusion, and forced them to stand off. This gave an opportunity for the blue squadron to join the red, and to assist the duke of York; who, deserted by the French, was in the utmost danger of being oppressed by the two squadrons of de Ruyter and Bankert. About this time Cornelius Evertz, vice-admiral of Zealand, was killed, and de Ruyter and Allemond narrowly escaped being burnt by fire-ships; but, when the English thought themselves secure of victory, the scattered squadron of Van Ghendt came in to the assistance of their countrymen, and again rendered doubtful the fortune of the day.

All this time the French, who composed the white squadron, instead of seconding the continued efforts of the English, kept as far out of danger as they could, and left our fleet to sustain the whole force of the enemy, at a disadvantage of three to two. But, notwithstanding this vast inequality of numbers, the action continued with inexpressible obstinacy till towards the evening, when victory declared for the English. Five or six of the enemy's fire-ships were sunk by an English man of war, and Sir Joseph Jordan, of the blue squadron, having the advantage of the wind, pierced the Dutch fleet, and thereby spread through it the utmost confusion; while a fire-ship clapped their admiral de Ruyter on board, and it was not without the utmost difficulty that he escaped being burnt or taken. As it grew dark, de Ruyter, collecting his fleet in the best order he could, fought retreating; and, as the most authentic of the Dutch historians say, quitted the place of action, and steered northwards.

As the French king had by this time over-run a great part of their country, the states, by the advice of the grand pensionary de Witte, assumed to themselves the honour of beating the English. However, they were so modest as to

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make no rejoicings for this supposed victory; and the distress their affairs were in might well excuse their departure on this occasion from truth. Their people were already disposed to destroy their governors, through madness, at the sight of the cruelties exercised by the French; and if to these there had been joined the news of a defeat at sea, one can scarce conceive how the republic could have been preserved. As it was, the populace, instead of applauding, insulted Cornelius de Witte on his return, and framing to themselves an imaginary quarrel between him and de Ruyter, would willingly have killed him for an offence he never committed.

The English, on the other hand, had all the marks that could be desired of a victory, but very dear-bought victory. They carried off the *Staveren*, a large Dutch man of war; whereas the enemy took none of ours. They kept their post, while de Ruyter made the best of his way home. All our relations made the victory clear, though not of any great consequence; while de Ruyter himself, in his letter to the states, did not so much as claim it, but rather tacitly admitted the contrary. Cornelius de Witte, indeed, was of another opinion; but therein his interest dictated rather than his judgment. The only objection that could be made to our claim was, our not following the Dutch to their own coasts; and, if we consider the strange and unbecoming behaviour of the French in the battle, this will appear no objection at all.

As to the loss, it was pretty equal on both sides. We had four men of war sunk or disabled, but they were small ships; whereas the Dutch lost three of the best in their fleet; one sunk, another burnt, and the third taken: a fourth, called the *Great Holland*, commanded by the brave captain Brakell, was entirely disabled. As for the French, notwithstanding all their caution, they lost two men of war, and their rear-admiral M. de la Rabiniere. Of persons of note, besides the earl of Sandwich, there were slain captain Digby of the *Henry*, captain Pearce of the *St. George*, captain Waterworth of the *Anne*, Sir Fretcheville Holles, who commanded the *Cambridge*, Sir John Fox of the *Prince*, and captain Hannam of the *Triumph*. Of our volunteers, there fell the lord Maidstone, Mr. Montague, Sir Philip Carteret, Sir Charles Harbord, two of the duke of York's gentlemen of the bed-chamber, Mr. Trevanian, and many others. Of private men, about two thousand five hundred were killed, and as many wounded. The Dutch did not think fit to publish any list, though

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their loss without question was as great; since de Ruyter says in his letter, "it was the hardest fought battle that he ever saw."

On the return of the Dutch fleet to their own coasts, it was laid up, and was forced to remain so for want of gunpowder, all that was on board being sent to the army. The states perceiving their authority almost lost, and their country on the very brink of ruin, resolved once more to try the force of intreaties; with which view they sent four deputies to England, and as many to the French king. The business of the former was to shew the danger of the protestant religion, the apparent and near approaching ruin of the balance of Europe, and the dismal consequences which must follow, even to England, from the further prosecution of the war. As to the latter, they were charged to offer any satisfaction to his most christian majesty, that he should require.

The arrival of the deputies in England had very different effects; it alarmed the court, and filled the nation with concern. The king, who was then in the hands of the cabal, treated them with a haughtiness as little agreeable to his natural temper as inconsistent with his dignity. Instead of hearing and giving them an answer in person, as he was wont on such applications, he was pleased to send four of the cabal to confer with them, in order to know what proposals they had to make; and, afterwards, sent over with them the duke of Buckingham, the earl of Arlington, and the viscount Halifax, into Holland, as if he intended to treat there; whereas the true design was, to be rid of the deputies, the sight of whom drew the compassion of the nation, who considered the Dutch no longer as their rivals in trade, but as a Protestant people sacrificed to a French and Popish interest.

On the arrival of these Lords in Holland, they made most extravagant demands; such as ten millions of guilders for the expence of the war, an annual tribute of one hundred thousand for the liberty of fishing, the perpetual stadtholdership for the prince of Orange, and his issue male. All these were moderate articles to the rest; for they insisted on a share in their East-India trade, the possession of the city of Sluys in Flanders, and the islands of Cadzant, Walcheren, Goree, and Voorn. After the proposal of these intolerable conditions, the duke of Buckingham and the earl of Arlington, deserting their colleague, went away to the French camp, and there concluded an agreement in the name of their own prince, without his instructions,

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with the French king, the principal point of which was, that neither should, upon any terms, make a separate peace with the Dutch. As for the deputies sent to his most christian majesty, they were answered in the style of a conqueror, and so sent back to spread despair through the country, which they did so effectually, that the inhabitants drew from thence for their safety; for, seeing no hopes of living any better than in slavery, they generously resolved to lay aside all treaties, and to die free.

In the mean time the French and English fleets, being perfectly resisted, and the latter having taken on board a large body of land-forces, sailed again for the Dutch coasts, with a design to make a descent on Zealand, the only province into which the French had not carried their arms by land. Here they found the Dutch fleet; but, not thinking proper to attack them among the sands, they deferred the execution of their design, and blocked up the Maese and Texel; which de Ruyter yet wanted power to prevent. The duke of York was resolved to debark, on the isle of Texel, the body of troops on board his fleet. The occasion was favourable in all respects; the French and the bishop of Munster were in the heart of the Dutch territories, so that no great force could be drawn together to resist them on shore; and the coast was so low and flat, that it looked as if nothing but a superior force could have secured the Dutch from this invasion.

It was upon the 3d of July this resolution was taken; and it was intended, that their forces should have landed the next flood. But Providence interposed in favour of a free people, and saved them from a yoke which seemed already to press upon their necks. The ebb, instead of six, continued twelve hours, which defeated the intended descent for that time, and the storm, that rose the night following, forced the fleet out to sea, where they struggled for some time with very foul weather, and, the opportunity being quite lost, returned, without performing any thing of consequence, to the English shore. The Dutch clergy magnified this accident into a miracle.

After this disappointment, there was no other action thought of at sea for this year, except the sending Sir Edward Spragge, with a squadron, to disturb the Dutch herring-fishery; which he performed with a degree of moderation that became so great a man, contenting himself with taking one of their vessels, when he saw that was sufficient to disperse the rest. But while the war seemed to slumber

in Europe, it raged sufficiently in the West and East-Indies.

Sir Tobias Bridges, with six ships, and a regiment of foot, from Barbadoes, made himself master of the island of Tobago, taking about four hundred prisoners, and five hundred slaves. On the other side, the Dutch, with six hundred men, possessed themselves of the island of St. Helena, lying off the coast of Africa; for the fort not being defensible on the land-side, the English governor and his people, after having several times repulsed the enemy, retired, with all their valuable effects on board some English and French ships, as finding it impossible to preserve the island after their landing. But commodore Monday, being sent with four men of war, to convoy the English East-India fleet, perceiving on his arrival at St. Helena what had happened, resolved to attempt retaking it: he was the rather induced to this resolution, from his want of fresh water. Accordingly, landing some men on that side of the island which is most accessible, and at the same time attacking the fort with his ships, he easily succeeded in his design.

The island being thus recovered, it served the English as a net to inclose and take the enemy's ships, for a Dutch East-India vessel, called the Europe, coming to St. Helena, with a new governor on board, was seized. And soon after six others appearing in sight of the island, the English commodore, the better to confirm them in the opinion that their countrymen were still in possession, caused the Dutch flag to be displayed from the fort; which stratagem had so good an effect, that the East-India ships approaching nearer, their vice-admiral and rear-admiral were taken, with an immense quantity of silver on board; as the rest would likewise have been, had not the English discovered themselves somewhat too soon. On the other side, the Hollanders, who attempted the island of Bombay, were repulsed with great loss; but near Massalpatnam, thirteen Dutch men of war, and some other vessels, being rashly engaged by ten English ships, partly men of war, and partly merchantmen, there happened a long and bloody fight, which ended with the death of the Dutch vice-admiral John Frederickson, and the taking of three English merchant-ships. So that the loss of the two nations was pretty equal, though possibly the Dutch esteemed themselves gainers.

Notwithstanding it was resolved early in the year 1673, that prince Rupert should command, yet no care was taken

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to fit out the fleet in time, and in furnishing him with such officers as were agreeable to him. Sir Robert Holmes was laid aside, though formerly so much carested, merely because he was known to be in his highness's favour, and Sir Edward Spragge sent in his stead, who not longer after went into France on a secret commission, without prince Rupert's knowing any thing of his business. With the like view, Sir John Harman was appointed his vice-admiral, when he was known to have survived the great abilities he once had, and besides was so ill of the gout when he went on board, that he was not able to move either hand or foot, or so much as to stir out of his cabin. The prince expostulated in vain against these and many other hardships, of which he could obtain no redress; and therefore in the beginning of the month of April, hearing the Dutch fleet was at sea, and intended to come and sink many hulks filled with lead and stones in the mouth of the river, he with much industry got together as many of the fourth and fifth rate ships as he could, and with some fire-ships, sailed out and took such measures as prevented them. This was one of the schemes laid in the former war, and, if the Dutch could have accomplished it, would have been attended with very mischievous effects.

About the middle of May the fleet, though indifferently provided, was ready for the sea; but then the great difficulty was, how to join our good allies, the French, who were at Brest, and who freely declared, that they were resolved not to stir till our fleet was in the channel. As the Dutch laboured day and night to strengthen their navy, his highness saw the necessity of joining the French early, and as a proof of his high courage, as well as great skill in maritime affairs, he passed in defiance of the enemy, then riding at the Gun-fleet, through the passage called the Narrow, and this too against the wind; which so surprised the Dutch, that, seeing the end of their lying there lost, they sailed back again to their own ports.

The grand design of our court was the same this year that it had been the last, that is to say, to make a puissant descent on the Dutch coast; and, with this view, there were a considerable number of land-troops put on board the navy. His majesty and his royal highness the duke of York visited the fleet on the 19th of May, and, in a council of war held in their presence, it was peremptorily resolved to attack the enemy even upon their own coast, in case they could not be provoked to quit it. In pursuance of this determination, prince Rupert stood over to-

wards the coast of Holland, and found de Ruyter with the Dutch fleet, riding within the sands at Schonevelt, in a line between the Rand and Stony-bank, which was a very advantageous situation; but, notwithstanding that, his highness persisted in his resolution of obeying the positive orders he had received for attacking them.

On the 28th in the morning, about nine o'clock, a detached squadron of thirty-five frigates and thirteen fire-ships were sent to draw the enemy out, which was very easily done; for de Ruyter presently advanced in good order, and, the English light ships retreating, put their own fleet in some disorder. This engagement happened on very unequal terms: the confederate fleet consisted of eighty-four men of war, besides fire-ships, divided into three squadrons, under the command of prince Rupert, count d'Estrees, and Sir Edward Spragge. The Dutch were scarce seventy men of war and frigates, under de Ruyter, Tromp, and Bankert.

Most of our own and the Dutch historians agree, that the English, to prevent the French from running away, as they did before, intermixed their ships in this battle with their own: but, in the account published under the direction of prince Rupert, the thing is put in quite another light; for there it is said, that the French made little or no sail, but kept in the rear, though they saw the Dutch fleet stretch to the north. By twelve in the morning the detached squadron, before mentioned, engaged Van Tromp, and soon after the prince engaged de Ruyter almost two hours before the French began to fight at all. Then, says the same relation, count d'Estrees engaged de Ruyter, but quickly left him; neither did de Ruyter follow, but went to the assistance of Tromp, whom he very seasonably relieved, which put an end to the feuds which had been long subsisting between them.

The battle was very hard fought on both sides, insomuch that Tromp shifted his flag four times; from the Golden Lion to the Prince on Horseback, from the Prince on Horseback to the Amsterdam, and from the Amsterdam to the Comet. Sir Edward Spragge and the earl of Ossory distinguished themselves on our side by their extraordinary courage and conduct. Prince Rupert also performed wonders, considering that his ship was in a very bad condition, and took in so much water at her ports, that she could not fire the guns of her lower tier. The battle lasted till night, and then the Dutch are said to have retired behind their sands.

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Both sides, however, claimed the victory: de Ruyter, in his letter to the prince of Orange, says, "We judge absolutely, that the victory is on the side of this state and of your highness." Tromp carried the matter farther, and reported the English to have lost ten or twelve ships. Prince Rupert, in his letter to the earl of Arlington, says, "I thought it best to cease the pursuit, and anchor where I now am." As to the slain on both sides in this battle, it is reported the Dutch lost vice-admiral Schram, rear-admiral Vlugh, and six of their captains, and had one ship disabled, which was lost in her retreat. On our side fell the captains Fowls, Finch, Tempest, and Worden: colonel Hamilton had his legs shot off, and we had only two ships disabled, none either sunk or taken.

The great doubt is as to the conduct of the French. Our writers are positive, that they behaved to the full as ill as they did before; but the Dutch authors say they fought very bravely. The truth seems to be, that the briskest of the French officers made it their choice to fight among the English, where they behaved very gallantly, while those remaining with the count d'Estrees took a great deal of care to keep themselves and their ships safe; and yet they suffered more than either the English or Dutch; for they lost two men of war, and five or six fire-ships, which they knew not how to manage. The French writers are pretty even with us; for they report that matters were but indifferently managed on both sides, and that prince Rupert did not push things as far as he might, because he was averse to the war. In one respect, the Dutch certainly had the advantage, since they prevented the descent intended upon their country, for which service, in case of a clear victory, count Schomberg, with six thousand men, lay ready at Yarmouth.

The Dutch, as they were upon their own coast, had the advantage of receiving quick and great supplies; whereas the wind prevented the English from obtaining the like advantages. Prince Rupert, however, did all that in his power lay, to put the fleet into a good condition, and believing that the Dutch would not be long before they endeavoured to make use of their advantages, he went on board the Royal Sovereign in the evening of the third of June, where he went not to bed all night. His foresight was very requisite; for on the fourth in the morning, the Dutch fleet, by this time at least as strong as the confederates, bore down upon them as fast as the wind would permit. Sir Edward Spragge had so little notion of their fight-

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ing, that taking the brave earl of Offory, his rear-admiral, with him, he went in his boat on board the admiral; which lost a great deal of time.

As for prince Rupert, he was so much in earnest, that finding his ship's crew, which was but indifferent, raised his anchors very slowly, he ordered his cables to be cut, that he might make haste to meet the Dutch.

Count d'Estrees, with the white squadron, betrayed no such great willingness to fight, as both our own and the Dutch writers agree; but kept as much as might be out of harm's way. At last, about five in the evening, Spragge and Tromp engaged with great fury. As for de Ruyter, he shewed at first a design of coming to a close engagement with the prince: but before he came within musket-shot, he tacked and bore away; whence it was concluded, that he had suffered some considerable damage. Spragge, in the mean time, had forced Tromp to sheer off. He then fell into vice-admiral Sweers's division, which he soon put to confusion; and had a third engagement with Tromp, wherein he shot down his flag. The battle lasted till between ten and eleven at night, and then the Dutch stood to the south-east, and so it ended.

Both sides claimed the victory as before. Prince Rupert, in his letter to the earl of Arlington, says expressly, "that he pursued the Dutch from two till six the next morning, and seeing no likelihood of reaching them, before they got within their sands, thought a farther pursuit needless." He likewise adds, "that they went away in great disorder, though he could not tell certainly what loss they had received." This is not altogether irreconcilable to de Ruyter's letter, wherein he also claims the victory. "The next day (says he) we saw the enemies were gone; and doubt not but they made to the Thames; we satisfied ourselves with pursuing them half-way, and then returned to our former station." In the same letter, however, he owns that they began their retreat as soon as it was dark. The loss on both sides was pretty equal, but was very far from being considerable on either. Admiral Van Tromp, however, was so ill satisfied with the conduct of vice-admiral Sweers, that he accused him to the states. Some of the Dutch and French writers pretend, that prince Rupert did not distinguish himself on that occasion as he used to do; for which they suggest reasons void of all foundation.

The truth is, the prince was for fighting the enemy again; but it was carried in a council of war to sail for the Eng-

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lish coast, in order to obtain supplies, as well of ammunition as provision; through want of which a great many captains complained loudly. Besides, the fleet was so poorly manned, that if it had not been for the land-forces on board, they could not have fought at all: and these being for the most part new-raised men, we need not wonder they did not behave so well as our old-seasoned sailors were wont to do. On the eighth of June, the fleet arrived at the Buoy in the Nore, and on the fourteenth prince Rupert went to London, in order to give the king an account of the condition things were in, and to press for such necessary supplies as might enable him to put to sea again without delay.

The Dutch, in the mean time, to countenance the pretences they made after the two last battles to victory, and to raise the spirits of the people at such a conjuncture, when the very being of the republic was at stake, gave out, that their fleet should speedily put to sea again, and attempt some great thing. Insulting the English coast was sometimes mentioned, and then again, the losses they had lately sustained from the French, induced them to think of revenge on that side, and taking some maritime town in France, which might oblige king Lewis to abandon the siege of Maestricht, or incline him to give it up by way of exchange. But while they were amusing themselves and de Ruyter with these proposals, they were informed that Maestricht was already taken, and that the combined fleet was likewise ready to put to sea; so that all these grand schemes vanished at once, and they were forced to attend to their old business of defending their own coasts, and protecting their commerce.

About the middle of July, prince Rupert was at sea, having on board the troops intended for a descent, which was still pressed by the real authors of the war. His highness arrived on the Dutch coasts on the twenty-first of the said month, and declining an engagement, stood along the shore, in order to find an opportunity for debarking his troops. On the ninth of August, he took a Dutch East-India ship richly laden. This induced de Ruyter to fight; and, therefore, he immediately bore down upon the English fleet. As soon as his highness perceived it, he commanded the French a particular course, and had thereby an opportunity of discerning what he was to expect from them in a time of action. They lay by twice that night; first about eleven o'clock, when the prince sent to count d'Estrees to order him to make sail, which he did till about one o'clock,

o'clock, and then laid his sail to the mast again, which gave a second stop to the fleet, and obliged the prince to send him another message.

These delays gave the Dutch admiral an opportunity of gaining the wind, which he did not neglect; but, early on the eleventh of August, bore down upon the confederates, as if he meant to force them to a battle; upon which his highness thought fit to tack, and thereby brought the fleet into good order. He put the French in the van, himself in the center, and Sir Edward Spragge in the rear; and in this disposition the French lay fair to get the wind of the enemy, which, however, they neglected. The English fleet consisted of about sixty men of war and frigates, the French of thirty, and the Dutch of seventy or thereabouts; so that the royal fleets were indisputably superior to that of the republic.

De Ruyter, bearing down with his fleet in three squadrons, prepared to attack the prince himself, while Tromp engaged Spragge and the blue squadron, in which the English admiral obliged him, by laying his fore-top-sail to his mast, in order to stay for him, contrary to the express order of the prince. This fondness for a point of honour proved fatal to himself, as well as disadvantageous to the fleet. Bankert, with his Zealand squadron, should have engaged the white, commanded by d'Estrees; but it seems the Dutch understood their temper better than to give themselves much trouble about them, for Bankert contented himself with sending eight men of war and three fire-ships to attack the rear-admiral de Martel, who seemed to be the only man that had any real design to fight; and then the rest of the Zealand squadron united themselves to de Ruyter, and fell together upon prince Rupert.

Rear-admiral de Martel, being left not only by the body of the French fleet, but even by the captains of his own division, was attacked by five Dutch ships at once. He fought them for two hours, and that with such courage and success, that having disabled one, the rest were glad to sheer off, and he joined the white squadron; where, expostulating with the captains of his own division for deserting him so basely, they told him plainly, they had orders from the admiral not to observe his motions: and indeed, after he was in the fleet, though some opportunities offered, he thought no more of fighting, and, on his return to France, was sent to the Bastile for what he had done.

The battle between de Ruyter and the red squadron began about eight o'clock in the morning. The French, not

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satisfied with being mere spectators of a very unequal combat from the beginning, suffered the ships, which had attacked de Martel, to pass quietly to their own fleet; so that now de Ruyter's and Bankert's squadrons were both upon the red. Sir Edward Spragge, intent on his personal quarrel with Van Tromp, had fallen to the leeward several leagues with the blue squadron, and to complete prince Rupert's misfortune, the enemy found means to intercept his own rear-admiral, Sir John Chichele, with his division; so that by noon his highness was wholly surrounded by the Dutch, being pressed by de Ruyter and his division on his lee-quarter, an admiral with two flags more on his weather-quarter, and the Zealand squadron on his broadside to windward. Thus the Dutch wisely employed their force against the enemy that would fight, and took no more notice of the French fleet, than the French did of them, or of prince Rupert.

His highness, in the midst of these disappointments, behaved with such intrepidity, and encouraged all his officers so effectually by his own example, that, by degrees he cleared himself of his enemies, rejoined Sir John Chichele, and by two o'clock had time to think of the blue squadron, which was now at three leagues distance; and, not hearing their guns well plied, he made all the sail he could towards them, in order to unite with and relieve them. De Ruyter, perceiving his highness's design, left firing, and bore away also with his whole force to the assistance of Tromp; so that both fleets ran down side by side within range of cannon-shot, and yet without firing on either part. About four the prince joined the blue squadron, which he found in a very tattered condition.

At the beginning of the fight, Tromp in the *Golden Lion*, and Sir Edward Spragge in the *Royal Prince*, fought ship to ship. The Dutch admiral, however, would not come to a close fight, which gave him a great advantage; for Spragge, who had more than his complement on board, suffered much by the enemies' cannon, and, having the wind and smoke in his face, could not make good use of his own, as he would otherwise have done. After three hours warm fight, the *Royal Prince* was so disabled, that Sir Edward was forced to go on board the *St. George*, and Tromp quitted his *Golden Lion* to hoist his flag on board the *Comet*, where the battle was renewed with incredible fury. We have in respect to this, and it is to be wished we had of every battle, a distinct relation of what was performed by each squadron, very particular and clear; and, from

from the relation of the blue squadron, (compared with prince Rupert's) these facts are collected.

The great aim of the Dutch admiral was, to take or sink the Royal Prince: but the earl of Ossory, and Sir John Kempthorne, together with Spragge himself, so effectually protected the disabled vessel, that none of the enemy's fire ships could come near her, though this was often attempted. At last, the St. George being terribly torn, and in a manner disabled, Sir Edward Spragge designed to go on board a third ship, the Royal Charles; but, before he was got ten boats length, a shot, which passed through the St. George, took his boat; and though they immediately rowed back, yet, before they could get within reach of the ropes that were thrown out from the St. George, the boat sunk, and Sir Edward was drowned.

When prince Rupert drew near the blue squadron, he found the admiral disabled, the vice admiral lying to the windward, mending his sails and rigging; the rear admiral a-stern of the Royal Prince, between her and the enemy, bending his new sails, and mending his new rigging. The first thing his highness did, was to send two frigates, to take the Royal Prince in tow. He then steered in between the enemy and the lame ships, and perceiving that Tromp had tacked, and was coming down again upon the blue squadron, he made a signal for all the ships of that squadron to join him: but it was in vain; for, except the two flags, Sir John Kempthorne and the earl of Ossory, there was not one in a condition to move. The French still continued to look on with all the coolness imaginable; and notwithstanding the prince put out the blue flag upon the mizen-peek, which was the signal to attack, set down in the general instructions for fighting, and known not only to all the English captains, but also to those of the white squadron, yet they remained, as before, wholly inactive. But, to give some kind of colour to this conduct, the count d'Estrees, after the battle was in a manner over, sent to know what this signal meant.

About five in the evening, De Ruyter, with all his flags and fleet, came close up with the prince, and then began a very sharp engagement: His highness had none to second him but the vice and rear of the blue, Sir John Harman, captain Davis, and captain Stout, of his own division, Sir John Holmes in the Rupert, captain Legge in the Royal Katharine, Sir John Berry in the Resolution, Sir John Ernle in the Henry, Sir Roger Strickland in the Mary, and captain Carter in the Crown; in all about thirteen ships,

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The engagement was close and bloody till about seven o'clock, when his highness forced the Dutch fleet into great disorder, and sent in two fire ships amongst them to increase it, at the same time making a signal for the French to bear down; which, even then, if they had done, a total defeat must have followed it: but, as they took no notice of it, and the prince saw that most of his ships were not in any condition to keep the sea long, he wisely provided for their safety, by making with an easy sail towards our own coasts.

Soon after this battle, the fleet came into the Thames, and the French squadron, about the middle of September, sailed home; but suffered so much by a storm, that it was the middle of November before they reached Brest. When prince Rupert returned to court, he joined his representations to those of other worthy patriots; who were desirous that peace, as soon as possible, should be restored, to which the king was, no longer averse; but directed Sir William Temple to negotiate with the marquis del Fresno, the Spanish ambassador, who was provided with full powers from the states-general for that purpose; and, at three meetings, the treaty was concluded and signed, to the mutual satisfaction of both parties.

While this treaty was upon the carpet at home, there happened an accident in the Mediterranean. The Dutch admiral Evertz, being in those seas with his squadron, it happened that captain de Witte, in a man of war called the *Schaerlaes*, which carried thirty-six pieces of cannon, and one hundred and forty men, met with captain Harman, in the *Tyger*, a small English frigate which had been careening at Tangier, and came with him into the harbour of Cadiz, where the Dutchman also careened. The Spaniards jesting with captain de Witte, and telling him that he durst not fight the English captain, and that this made them so good friends; admiral Evertz heard it, and thereupon told de Witte, that he must, for the honour of his nation, challenge captain Harman. He did so; and his admiral lent him, that he might come off with glory, sixty mariners and seventy soldiers. Captain Harman had but one hundred and eighty-four men in all; however, at a day's notice he stood to sea, and fairly engaged the Dutch frigate, in sight of the town.

Their ships were within pistol-shot before either of them fired, and then captain Harman's broadside brought the Dutchman's main-mast by the board, and killed and wounded him fourscore men. The English captain followed his
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advantage, entered the enemy's vessel with his resolute crew, and became master of the ship in an hour's time; but she was quite disabled, and had one hundred and forty men in her killed and wounded. The English had only nine killed, and fifteen wounded: amongst whom was their brave captain, by a musket-shot, which went in at the left eye, and out between the ear and the jaw-bone; of which wound he was well cured, and lived several years after. Thus the maritime powers, though their interest was, and must ever be the same, did their utmost, from false notions of honour, to destroy each other, and answer the ends of their common enemy; till the voice of the people, both in England and Holland, roused their governors to a just sense of their common danger, and procured thereby an alliance which has lasted till 1782.

The corsairs of Tripoli having for some time committed great outrages on the English trade, Sir John Narborough was sent, in the latter end of the year 1675, to reduce them to reason. The 14th of January following, Sir John came before the place, and having blocked up the port in the night, so that no ship could go in or come out, he manned all his boats, and sent them under the command of lieutenant Shovel, into the harbour, where he seized the guardship, and afterwards burnt the following vessels, which were all that lay at that time in the harbour, *viz.* the White Eagle crowned, a fifty gun ship, the Looking-glass, which carried thirty-six, the Santa Clara of twenty-four, and a French vessel of twenty; after which, he safely returned to the fleet without the loss of a single man. This extraordinary action struck the Tripolines with amazement, and made them instantly sue for peace, which, however, did not immediately take place, because they absolutely refused to make good the losses sustained by the English. Sir John thereupon cannonaded the town, and, finding that ineffectual, landed a body of men about twenty leagues from thence, and burnt a vast magazine of timber, which was to have served for the building of ships. When all this failed of reducing these people, Sir John sailed to Malta; and, after remaining there for some time, returned suddenly upon the enemy, and distressed them so much, that they were glad to submit to a peace on the terms prescribed.

However, soon after the conclusion of this treaty, some of their corsairs, returning into port, not only expressed a great dislike thereto, but actually deposed the Dey for making it; and without any regard thereto, began to take

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all English ships as before. Sir John remaining still in the Mediterranean, and having immediate notice of what passed, suddenly appeared with eight frigates before Tripoli, and began with such violence to batter the place, that the inhabitants were glad once more to renew the peace, and deliver up the authors of the late disturbance to condign punishment.

In 1679, we had some differences with the Algerines on account of their making prize of English ships, under pretence that they were not furnished with proper passes. Upon this Sir John Narborough was sent with a squadron to demand satisfaction; which he procured, as it must always be procured, by dint of force. This peace, however, did not last long; for, in a year or two, they committed the like outrages: upon which, commodore Herbert, afterwards so well known to the world by the title of earl of Torrington, went thither with a few ships, and compelled them to make satisfaction for what had passed, and to give the strongest assurances of their acting in another manner for the future. That expedition, which was performed in 1682, proved the last in this reign.

Immediately on Oliver's death he proclaimed Richard, from whom he received a very kind letter, which contained a fact not likely to be true, *viz.* that his father had directed him to be chiefly governed by Monk's advice; whereas he was scarce in his senses, when he appointed him to the succession. This was very well judged in the new protector, and seemed to bespeak his advice in such a manner, as that he could not refuse giving it him; and therefore the general, some time after, sent it by his brother-in-law. The paper is yet remaining, and will convince whoever reads it, that Monk, though a very plain man, was a very sound politician, and, like an honest and sensible counsel, gave the clearest and best opinion, upon his intricate and perplexed case, that it would bear. If Richard could have supported himself at all, it would have rivetted Monk in his favour; who, however, might doubt the possibility of that, when he gave it. He judged rightly, that, if things went well, it would do him much good; and, if they went ill, it could do him no hurt. The further to conciliate Monk's friendship, the protector sent him down commissary Clarges, which, however, had no effect upon the wary general, who received his commands respectfully, wrote a civil answer to Thurloe's smooth letter, and took all the care he could to secure his command in Scotland, till he saw what turn things in England would take.

MEMOIRS of Admiral MONTAGUE, afterwards Earl of Sandwich, and Knight of the Garter.

FAME belongs of right to all those who have deserved well of society; but the supreme degree of glory ought to wait on the memory of such illustrious persons as have been martyrs for their country, and voluntarily died either to serve or to preserve it. If this be a just position, as must be allowed by every man who thinks, then the noble person, whose memoirs are at present to employ our care, ought ever to be revered by Britons. His life was an uniform scene of patriotism and public spirit; his death so extraordinary a strain of exalted courage, that, as few facts in modern history come near it, so none in more ancient and less corrupted times can be justly said to exceed it.

Mr. Edward Montague was the only surviving son of Sidney Montague, the youngest of six sons of Edward lord Montague, of Boughton. He was born July 27, 1625, and having received all the advantages which a liberal education could bestow, came very early into the world, and into business; especially if we consider the times in which he lived, and the qualities necessary for men to be distinguished in them.

He married, when little above seventeen, the daughter of Mr. Crew, afterwards lord Crew, of Stene; and being thought more warmly affected to the cause of the parliament than his father Sidney Montague was, who had been expelled his seat for refusing to take an oath to live and die with the earl of Essex, and giving such a reason for it as it was easier to punish than answer, received a commission, dated August 20, 1643, to raise and command a regiment under the earl before mentioned. This colonel Montague, though but eighteen, performed; and, the interest of his family being very extensive, he took the field in six weeks.

He was present at the storming of Lincoln, on the 6th of May, 1644, which was one of the warmest actions in the course of that lamentable war. He was likewise in the battle of Marston-moor, which was fought on the 2d of July, the same year, where he greatly distinguished himself; insomuch that soon after, when the city of York demanded to capitulate, he was appointed one of the commissioners for settling the articles; which must have been the pure effects of personal merit, since he was then but in his nineteenth year. We find him next in the battle of Naseby, and in the month of July, 1645, he stormed

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the town of Bridgewater. In September he commanded a brigade in the storm of Bristol, where he performed very remarkable service; and, on the 10th of September, 1645, subscribed the articles of the capitulation, granted to prince Rupert, on the delivery of that important place to the parliament; the news of which, in conjunction with colonel Hammond, he was appointed to carry; for which a thanksgiving was ordered.

But after all this warm service in the army, at an age when few people have seen one, he shewed no inclination to make the sword the supreme power; but when by the artifices of their leaders, the soldiers declared against the parliament, and in June, 1647, impeached eleven of its most worthy members, he forebore going to the house, where, when chosen, he sat as knight for Huntingdonshire. His acquaintance, however, with Cromwell, the court paid him by that artful man, and his own generous unsuspecting temper, drew him in to accept a seat at the board of treasury, and into a share of the transactions in those times, with which he was very much dissatisfied upon reflection. After the Dutch war was over, he was brought into a command of the fleet, and was made choice of by the protector to be joined with Blake, in his expedition to the Mediterranean.

In the spring of the year 1656, we find him in the Mediterranean, meditating many great things. They once thought of attacking the Spanish fleet in the harbour of Cadiz; but, after attentively considering the port, it was resolved, in a council of war, that such an attempt was impracticable. Then Gibraltar was mentioned, as a place that would be of great utility, in case it could be reduced. Admiral Montague, in a letter to secretary Thurloe, gave his judgment of this project with great sagacity. According to his sentiments, the only method of taking that fortress was, to land a body of forces on the isthmus, and thereby cut off the communication of the town with the main; and, in this situation, to make a brisk attempt upon the place. Yet, as a proof of the fallibility of human understanding, we find, in this very letter, a proposal for sending five thousand land forces, on account of the hasty disposition of the seamen, which rendered them unfit to perform any effectual service on shore. When this place, however, long after, was actually taken, it was wholly owing to the vigour and activity of the sailors, and to the impetuosity in particular which admiral Montague imagined would be a hindrance in any enterprize of this kind.

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The warmth he expressed in the discharge of his command, did not hinder the admiral from perceiving the great prejudice done to our trade by the carrying on the Spanish war, of which he gives an account in one of his dispatches to the secretary, wherein he complains, that he saw the Dutch, Hamburgers, and Genoese, carrying on a mighty trade with Spain, which, as he observes, it was impossible for them to hinder, without engaging the state in a war with all the world, and therefore proposed, that a squadron of light frigates only might be kept in those seas, and that the fleet should be employed somewhere else to more advantage.

However, the protector's orders being positive, they returned towards autumn into the road of Cadiz, where, in September following, captain Stayner made prize of the galleons. A full account of their strength, and the money on board them, admiral Montague sent into England as soon as they were taken; and, when he afterwards received directions to convoy the prizes home, he sent another account of the silver on board them, desiring at the same time, that some persons might be sent down to meet the fleet at Portsmouth, in order to take charge of the silver, and to make a farther search into the contents of the galleons.

The money, thus taken from the Spaniards was, though undeservedly, the most popular act in all Cromwell's administration, and therefore the utmost pains were taken to give the populace a very high idea of this advantage. The silver was carried in open carts, and ammunition waggons, through Southwark, to the Tower of London; and, to make a shew of entire confidence in the people, these waggons had no greater guard than ten soldiers. As for admiral Montague, he had all the compliments paid him, upon this occasion, that it was possible for him to desire; the protector caressed him exceedingly; the parliament, as we have elsewhere observed, returned him thanks by their speaker, and some other honours he had received, if with industry he had not declined them.

In 1657 he was appointed to command the fleet in the Downs, and went accordingly on board it the latter end of July. The design of this fleet was to watch the Dutch, to carry on the war with Spain, and facilitate the enterprize on Dunkirk; and in all these he did as much as could be expected from him. Towards autumn he thought fit to make a journey to the camp of the marshal de Turenne, where he had a conference with him, in order to deter-

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mine the properest method of carrying on the war, and then returned on board the fleet, which cruized in the channel till the beginning of winter. All this time he seems to have been in the highest favour with the protector, and to have had the strictest intimacy with his family; and yet, even then, the admiral entertained serious thoughts of retiring from public business. What the reason of this was cannot, at this distance of time, be certainly discovered; but, in all probability, the sense he had of the strange service he was put upon in assisting the French, and distressing the trade of all the rest of the world, made him uneasy. One thing is remarkable, that, how much soever he disliked the orders that were sent him, he executed them with the utmost punctuality; so that the Dutch, whose ships he searched for silver, made a heavy complaint against him.

After the death of Oliver, and the setting up of Richard, admiral Montague was fixed upon to command the great fleet sent to the north, which, as it was in itself the wisest and best measure entered upon in those times, so this fleet was beyond comparison the most considerable that had been fitted out since the Dutch war; and therefore I think myself obliged to give a short account of it. The *Naseby*, on board which the admiral hoisted his flag, carried seventy guns, and six hundred men; the *Resolution* had the like number of men, and eighty guns; there were fourteen ships carrying each fifty pieces of cannon and upwards, twenty-eight forty gun ships, or near it, four of thirty guns, besides twelve smaller vessels, carrying from twenty-two to twenty-eight pieces of cannon; in all sixty ships, and on board them eleven thousand eight hundred and twenty men.

The admiral went on board in the spring of the year 1659, and on the 7th of April he wrote to the king of Sweden, the king of Denmark, and the Dutch admiral Opdam, to inform them of the motives that had induced the protector to send so strong a fleet into the Baltic, and that his instructions were not to respect the private advantage of England by making war, but the public tranquillity of Europe, by engaging the powers of the north to enter into an equitable peace.

Before the admiral sailed, the parliament thought proper to tie him down by very strict instructions, which left him no real power, but obliged him to act in conjunction with their commissioners, colonel Algernon Sidney, Sir Robert Honeywood, and Mr. Thomas Boon; and at the same

time they took an occasion to shew they had no great kindness for him, by giving away his regiment of horse; so that we may suppose he left England in none of the warmest dispositions for their service. When he arrived in the Sound, he took his share with other ministers in negotiation, and made it sufficiently evident, that he had a genius as capable of shining in the cabinet, as of commanding at sea or on shore. While he was thus employed, king Charles, being very well informed as to his temper, principles, and strict connexion with the protector's family, thought this a proper time to make a trial of his affections, and therefore sent a person with two letters, one from himself, and the other from chancellor Hyde, to be delivered to him, if possible, without the privity of his colleagues.

The scheme was rational, and well laid, but the messenger very indifferently chosen. He was one whose loyalty was apt to dance upon his tongue in those perilous times, when wise men kept it close in their hearts; and it was with some difficulty that the admiral preserved himself from suffering by his indiscretion. Yet these letters, and the persuasions of a near relation of his, who undertook to state the merits of the royal cause fairly, had such an effect on admiral Montague's mind, that he returned immediately to his duty, and returned with all that warmth and sincerity incident to great minds, conscious of former failings. The service the king expected from him was sailing speedily back to England, that the fleet might be ready to act in conjunction with Sir George Booth, and other persons of distinction, who were disposed to hazard their lives for the service of their country; on weighing which proposal, Mr. Montague found it so plausible, that he resolved to run any hazard, rather than not contribute as much as in him lay to put it in execution, conceiving that, if this opportunity was missed, another equally promising might not quickly happen.

Colonel Algernon Sidney was a man of quick parts, and deep penetration: he soon discerned some change in Mr. Montague's conduct, and pursued his discoveries so closely, that he missed very little of coming at his whole secret. The admiral, observing his suspicions, called a council of war, and therein made a clear and close speech, in which he shewed them plainly the little hope there was of doing any thing for the honour of England, by remaining where they were; that to fight they had no authority, and, if they were to remain neuter, they might as well sail home.

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He then laid before them the accounts he had received from his and their native country of the great struggles between the army and the parliament, whence he took occasion to hint, that themselves had a great stake there, and that, if a new government was to be settled, some respect ought to be had to the fleet. He concluded with saying, that he readily submitted his sentiments to a free debate; and that he was determined to act according to their judgment: but that one thing must be noted, provisions were already become scarce, it was very difficult to obtain supplies; and therefore, if they resolved to stay, they must resolve also to live at short allowance.

The question was soon decided; and, in consequence of the council's opinion, admiral Montague weighed immediately, and sailed to England. On his arrival he found things in a very unexpected and disagreeable situation; Sir George Booth close prisoner in the Tower, the parliament restored to their authority, and a warm charge against himself come to hand from colonel Sidney. Immediately on his arrival he set out for London, attended the parliament, and gave there an account of his conduct with so much wisdom and eloquence, that even such as disliked it knew not what to object, and were therefore very well satisfied with dismissing him from his command, to which Lawson was appointed, a rigid Anabaptist, and one in whom they had the greatest confidence.

After such an escape, Mr. Montague, as it was very natural, withdrew to his own estate, with a design to enjoy, in privacy and peace, the remainder of his life: this made him concern himself very little, if at all, in the public transactions before Monk's coming into England. After this, when that general shewed a desire that admiral Montague should be restored to his command, he sent privately to the king for his approbation, before he would accept it. Having obtained this, he sent his majesty a list of such officers in the fleet as might be confided in, and of such as he apprehended must be reduced by force. He likewise desired to know, whether the king had any assurance of the general; but was, at the same time so cautious, as to desire no notice might be taken to his excellency how his inclinations stood.

On his coming on board the fleet, he found things strangely altered; for Lawson, from whom he expected most opposition, was become as ready to serve the king as himself: upon which he laid by all reserve; and, as soon as he received his majesty's letter, directed to himself and

general Monk, he sailed with the fleet to Holland, leaving only two or three ships to attend the parliament commissioners. This was a very warm testimony of his affection for the king's service, and as such was received by his majesty: but when it was observed, that the parliament commissioners looked upon it as a mark of disrespect, the king was pleased to cover Mr. Montague, by sending him an antedated letter. Soon after, he had the honour to convoy his majesty to England, who, within two days from his landing at Dover, sent Sir William Walker, garter king at arms, to deliver him his declaratory letters, with the ribband and George of the most noble order of the garter; which he presented him on the 28th of May, in the morning, in his ship, then riding in the Downs.

Among the honours conferred on such as had been particularly instrumental in restoring his majesty to his just rights, our admiral had his share; and by letters patent, dated the 12th July, 1660; he was created baron Montague, of St. Neots, in the county of Huntingdon, viscount Hinchinbrooke, in the same county, and earl of Sandwich, in Kent, sworn of his majesty's most honourable privy council, made master of the king's wardrobe, admiral of the narrow seas, and lieutenant admiral to the duke of York, as lord high admiral of England. At his majesty's coronation his lordship carried St. Edward's staff, and was now looked upon as one of the king's principal ministers, as well as the person chiefly entrusted with the care of the fleet.

When the Dutch war began, in 1664, the earl of Sandwich went heartily into the measure, as conceiving it for the honour and interest of England; and when the duke of York took upon him the command of the fleet as high admiral, his lordship commanded the blue squadron; and, by his industry and care, abundance of the enemy's ships were taken, and the best part of their Bourdeaux fleet. In the great battle fought on the 3d of June, 1665; wherein the Dutch lost their admiral Opdam, and had eighteen men of war taken, and fourteen destroyed; a large share of the honour of the victory was justly given to the conduct of the earl of Sandwich, who, about noon, fell with the blue squadron into the center of the enemy's fleet; and thereby began that confusion, which ended soon after in a plain flight. Most of our historians agree, that if this victory had been properly pursued, the Dutch fleet had been totally ruined; and the neglect of this advantage is, as I have elsewhere observed, by some without just grounds;

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charged on the duke of York. On the return of the English navy, his majesty, at the request of the queen mother, declared the duke should not expose his person again on board the fleet; but that the command of it should be left to the earl of Sandwich; who was ordered to employ his utmost diligence to put it, as speedily as possible, in a condition to return to the Dutch coast; which he accordingly performed.

The earl of Sandwich sailed on the 5th of July with sixty men of war to the coast of Holland, wearing the royal standard of England, and having under him several of the bravest seamen that perhaps ever bore the English flags. Finding the Dutch fleet not at sea, and having information that both their East-India and Smyrna fleets were to return north about, he resolved to steer for the coast of Norway, in hopes of meeting with them: nor was this a difficult thing, since it was soon after known, that they had taken shelter in the port of Berghen. We have already given some account of this action, but reserved a more particular detail of it for this place, to which it properly belongs, the rather, because the attempt on the Dutch fleet in the harbour of Berghen was the occasion of our war with Denmark, which some have ventured to charge on the earl of Sandwich, as brought about by his ill management; whereas, in truth, he did every thing that could be expected from an experienced officer, and a man of honour.

Sir Thomas Tyddiman, being sent with a stout squadron to block up the port of Berghen, appeared before it on the 1st of August, 1665. The first thing he did was to send a gentleman to the governor, to inform him of the design, and to enquire what orders he had. To this the governor answered, that as yet he had none, but that he expected them by the post in two or three days, and therefore desired the English would desist from making any attempt for that time. The same evening, however, the castle fired upon the English fleet, and did some mischief; and the Dutch were suffered by the governor to bring seventy pieces of cannon on shore to fortify their line. Admiral Tyddiman, perceiving this, immediately called a council of war, wherein he laid the whole matter before his officers, who, after a full and free debate, resolved to lose no time, but to attack the Dutch fleet the next morning.

This resolution taken, Sir Thomas Tyddiman gave to his captains strict charge, that they should not fire against the castles or ports, and should also be very careful to direct all their shot low at the hulls of the Dutch ships, to prevent

prevent, as far as they could, any damage happening to the town that lay behind the ships; both which orders all the seamen did unanimously agree were performed, according as, in the several conferences with the governor, those directions were promised to be given. The dispute continued till near eight of the clock, during which time, it is true, the castle hung out a white flag, but to what intent the English could not guess; for the seamen, whose station was nearest to it, agreed also in this point, that the castle never left firing from some quarter or other. They were led to imagine from thence, that the Dutchmen, who might have been taken in for the strengthening the castle, had fired against the general's orders during the time of hanging out the white flag, as indeed it proved; for there were at least three hundred of them there.

The greatest mischief that the English received was from the artillery in the castle, which by accidental shots cut some hawfers that kept the first line together: and so, to avoid falling foul one on another, they were forced from their stations, and, when they were out of the reach of the Dutch guns, the fort upon the outmost point on the star-board side played upon them afresh, the guns of which the English had once silenced during the engagement; but, being remounted, they had many of their men killed by them: notwithstanding which, the English came that day to anchor within the rocks of Norway, five leagues distant from Berghen, having no pilots that could shew them anchoring hold nearer for so many ships together.

While the English were repairing their ships, the Danish governor endeavoured to draw them into a new negotiation, affirming, that now he had received his master's orders, and was content to afford them what assistance he could. But, after mature deliberation, it was not thought proper to trust to these promises; and therefore, on the last of August, the earl sailed with the rest of his fleet towards the coast of Holland; but, suffering much by a storm, his ships were forced back again to the northward; and on the 4th of September he met with four East-Indiamen, and several other of their merchant ships under a good convoy; and, though the stormy weather favoured their escape, yet he took eight men of war, two of their richest East-India ships, and twenty sail of their merchantmen. On the 9th also a part of our fleet fell in with eighteen sail of the enemy, the greatest part of which they took, with four men of war, and above a thousand prisoners.

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tinguished marks of favour; but his royal highness's conduct in the great engagement on the 3d of June being much censured, and the king declaring the duke of York should go no more to sea, as the earl's behaviour in the same action had been much applauded, lest his continuance in the sole command of the fleet might be interpreted to the disadvantage of the duke, and our affairs in Spain requiring an extraordinary embassy to be sent into that kingdom, his majesty dispatched the earl of Sandwich to the court of Madrid, to mediate a peace between the crowns of Spain and Portugal.

Upon the conclusion of this treaty the earl of Sandwich was complimented both by the king and duke under their hands, and his great services acknowledged in such terms as they most certainly deserved. Many of these dispatches, penned by his lordship in this embassy, have been made public, and remain so many indelible marks of his wisdom, integrity, and public spirit.

On the breaking out of the third and last Dutch war, his lordship went to sea with the duke of York, and commanded the blue squadron. The fleet was at sea in the beginning of the month of May, and towards the end of that month came to an anchor in Southwold bay, in order to take in water. We are told, that on the 27th, which was Whitmonday, there was great merry-making on board the fleet, and many officers and seamen were permitted to go on shore, and were at Southwold, Dunwich, and Aldborough. Things being in this situation, and the weather withal very hazy, the earl of Sandwich delivered it as his opinion, at a council held in the evening, that, the wind standing as it did, the fleet rode in danger of being surprised by the Dutch, and therefore he thought it adviseable to weigh anchor, and get out to sea: to this the duke of York, it is said, made such an answer as seemed to hint, that the earl spoke out of fear; which insinuation, if really made, was certainly both barbarous and unjust.

On the 28th of May, between two and three in the morning, the fleet was informed of the approach of the Dutch; upon which his royal highness made the signal for weighing, and getting out to sea; and, the occasion being of so pressing a nature, many of the captains were obliged to cut their cables. The blue squadron, however, was out first, and in good order, the red next, and the white, in its proper station, much astern. The earl of Sandwich, in his flagship the Royal James, which carried one hundred pieces of cannon and about eight hundred men, began the fight.

fight, and fell furiously on the squadron of Van Ghendt this he did, not from a principle of distinguishing himself by an act of heroic valour; for he knew his character was too well established to need that; his view was, to give the rest of the fleet time to form; and in this he carried his point. Captain Brakel, in the great Holland, a sixty-gun ship, depending on the assistance of his squadron, attacked the Royal James, but was soon disabled, as were several other men of war; and three fire-ships were sunk. By this time most of his men were killed, and the hull of the Royal James so pierced with shot, that it was impossible to carry her off.

In this distress he might have been relieved by his vice-admiral, Sir Joseph Jordan, if that gentleman had not been more solicitous about assisting the duke: when, therefore, he saw him sail by, heedless of the condition in which he lay, he said to those who were about him, "There is nothing left for us now, but to defend the ship to the last man:" and those who knew him readily understood, that, by the last man, he meant himself. When a fourth fire-ship had grappled him, he begged his captain, Sir Richard Haddock, and all his servants, to get into the boat, and save themselves; which they did: yet some of the sailors would not quit the admiral, but staid, and endeavoured at his command to put out the fire, which, in spite of all their efforts, they could not do; and so they perished together, the ship blowing up about noon.

His lordship's body was found, near a fortnight afterwards; and the king testified, by the honours he paid to the corpse, how much he admired the man, how sensible of his hard fate, and how willing he was to mingle with the dust of his ancestors, the remains of such as died gloriously in their country's service. The fact stands thus in the Gazette.

Harwich, June 10.

"This day the body of the right honourable Edward earl of Sandwich, being, by the order upon his coat, discovered floating on the sea, by one of his Majesty's ketches, was taken up, and brought into this port; where Sir Charles Littleton, the governor, receiving it, took immediate care for its embalming, and honourable disposing, till his majesty's pleasure should be known concerning it; for the obtaining of which, his majesty was attended at Whitehall, the next day, by the master
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“ of the said vessel, who, by Sir Charles Littleton's order, was sent to present his majesty with the George found about the body of the said earl, which remained, at the time of its taking up, in every part unblemished, saving some impressions made by the fire upon his face and breast: upon which his majesty resolved to have his body brought up to London, there, at his charge, to receive the rites of funeral due to his great quality and merits.

MEMOIRS of PRINCE RUPERT.

WE ought next to say something of Prince Rupert, who commanded the English fleet often, and with great applause. To run through his memorable adventures would take up too much time, and deviate likewise from the intention of these memoirs: we shall therefore touch briefly upon those circumstances of his conduct, which more immediately relate to his capacity as a sea-officer, and leave his other actions to the care of some faithful historian, who may incline to transmit them to posterity in the manner they deserve.

He was the third son of the elector palatine, some time styled king of Bohemia, by the princess Elizabeth, eldest daughter to king James I. and was consequently nephew to king Charles I. His education, like that of most German princes, especially younger brothers, qualified him for arms; and such as have been least inclined to favour him admit, that he was extremely well fitted in respect both to natural abilities, and acquired accomplishments, for a great commander. When the unhappy civil wars broke out here, he came and offered his sword, when scarce of age, to his uncle, and through the whole war behaved with great intrepidity; and, on many occasions, his endeavours were attended with very extraordinary success: to reward which, as well that posterity might have a just idea of the sense his majesty entertained of his great merit, that prince having first elected him into the most noble order of the garter, did, by his letters patents, bearing date at Oxford, the 19th of January, in the 19th year of his reign, make him a free denizen; and, on the 24th of the same month, advanced him to the dignity of a peer of England, by the title of earl of Holderness, and duke of Cumberland. When the war was over, he went abroad with a pass from the parliament; but when the fleet revolted to the prince of Wales, he readily went on board it, where

where he distinguished himself by vigorous counsels; which, however, were not followed; but, on the return of the fleet to Holland, the command of it was left to him. He then sailed to Ireland, where he endeavoured to support the king's sinking cause; but was quickly pursued by the parliament's superior fleet, under Popham and Blake, who, in the winter of the year 1649, blocked him up in the haven of Kinsale, whence he escaped, by boldly pushing through their fleet; an action as successful in the event as brave in the intention.

After this escape, he proceeded to the coast of Spain, where, at first, he was treated with some respect; but when it was known that the parliament had a better fleet at sea, and were very intent on pursuing and crushing his highness, the Spaniards became afraid of shewing him any mark of favour: and therefore, when two or three of his ships were distressed, and ran ashore, they plundered them, and pressed the men into their service.

From the coast of Spain the prince sailed to Lisbon, and was quickly followed thither by Blake, with a squadron of eighteen sail. We have already given some account of this expedition, and of his being at last forced by Blake to leave that port, and betake himself again to the Mediterranean; and therefore here I shall only observe, that it was chiefly the high respect paid to prince Rupert's person, that enabled him to keep the sea with his squadron, which was now become too small to be called a fleet. On the 5th of November, 1650, general Blake destroyed the *Roebuck* and the *Black Prince*, two of the best ships he had remaining, while his highness in the *Reformation*, and his brother, prince Maurice, in the *Convertine*, or, as other writers say, in the *Swallow*, sailed into the Adriatic sea, and, after taking some prizes, returned, after Blake's departure, into the port of Toulon, where they disposed of them, paid their sailors, and provided for a more distant expedition.

Prince Rupert's squadron, in the spring of the year 1651, sailed again for the Straights, consisting then of no more than five men of war, and two fire-ships. There he began to take Spanish ships, by way of reprisal, for the respect they shewed the parliament, till, finding himself hard pressed by Penn, he resolved, having indeed no resource besides, to follow his brother into the West-Indies. This design might possibly have proved more successful, if prince Rupert, on his arrival in those parts, had applied himself to the preservation of the West-India trade; but, instead of

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this, both he and prince Maurice continued to cruize upon the Spaniards, till the latter perished at sea, and the former found his ships in such a shattered condition, that it was absolutely necessary for him to return into Europe; which accordingly he did, and, in the close of the year 1652, arrived safely in Brittany, where he disposed of his prizes, paid his seamen as far as it would go, and for the present laid aside his command as an admiral.

On the king's restoration, prince Rupert was invited into England, where the king, who had an affection for him, gave him various offices worthy of his high birth. With a view of honouring the society of the Inner Temple, his royal highness the duke of York, the duke of Buckingham, the earl of Dorset, and Sir William Morrice, one of the secretaries of state, were pleased to be admitted of that house, the duke of York being then called to the bar and bench; and, on the 4th of November in the same year (1661), his highness prince Rupert, and other persons of rank, condescended to honour the society in like manner. On the 28th of April, 1662, the prince was sworn a member of the privy-council also in the December following, when the statutes of the royal society were presented to the king; who was pleased to superscribe himself their founder and patron; his royal highness the duke and prince Rupert at the same time declared themselves fellows. By this time his highness's fire was in some degree qualified, and his judgment become cooler, and fitter for the discharge of great employments; when therefore, in the year 1666, the king intrusted him, in conjunction with the duke of Albemarle, to command the fleet, he discovered all the great qualities that could be desired in an admiral; for, by his happy return to the fleet, on the 3d of June he ravished from the Dutch the only victory they had the appearance of gaining; and afterwards, on the 24th of June, beat them effectually, pursued them to their own coast, blocked up their harbours, and made them sensible of the superiority of English courage, when not oppressed by numbers. In the autumn of the same year, having the sole command of our fleet, and understanding that the Dutch were endeavouring to join a French squadron of forty sail under the duke of Beaufort, he followed them closely into Bouloign road; upon which, to avoid another battle, they hauled in so near the shore, as in all probability they must either have been burnt or sunk, if a sudden storm had not forced the prince to return to St. Helen's bay.

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After the breaking out of the last Dutch war, and the breaking the test-act, his highness was drawn from his retirement to take upon him once more the command of the fleet. The duke of York had resigned his office of lord high-admiral; the earl of Sandwich and most of the old admirals were dead; so that none could, with any decency, be called to that important charge but himself. He had never lived on any terms with the ministry who were styled the CABAL; for they were all persons of the utmost art, and he was one of the plainest men that could be. The method, therefore, they took to rid themselves of a war, which they found it very hard to manage, was, to make such dispositions in the fleet as were fittest to render the admiral uneasy, from a prospect that this might bring the advice of making peace from other hands than their own. All the captains in the fleet were the creatures of the duke of York, and were told, though perhaps without truth, that glancing at the prince's character would oblige his royal highness. There needed no more to set these folks to work: they began to find fault with every order he gave, and to misrepresent every measure he took; but the prince quickly convinced them, that, instead of hurting his character, they would by such conduct totally destroy their own.

By his brisk getting out to sea in the month of April, he shewed, that he could be active in age as well as youth; and, by sailing over to the Dutch coast, he discovered a readiness to fight, which was the old characteristic of an English admiral. We have already given an account of the battle of the 28th of May, 1672, in which we had the advantage.

The next engagement happened on the 5th of June, in which the advantage was more plainly on the side of the English, as is evident from Prince Rupert's letter, which was immediately published; but, after this engagement, he found the fleet to be so miserably destitute of all necessaries; and, which was worse, so indifferently manned, that he thought fit to return home.

On the 11th of August he fought the last battle that was fought against this enemy, of which we have already given so full an account, that, in respect to the fact, we can add nothing here: on his return from his command, the king expressed some coolness, which was owing not more to the arts of his highness's enemies, than to the quickness of his letter in relation to the last fight, and the behaviour of the French; but the king's displeasure quickly

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quickly wore out, as the interest of the CABAL began to decline. After this the prince led a quiet and (in a great measure) a retired life, mostly at Windsor-castle, of which he was governor; and spent a great part of his time in the prosecution of chemical and philosophical experiments, as well as the practice of mechanic arts, for which he was very famous. He is mentioned by foreign authors with applause for his skill in painting; and celebrated by one of the most judicious of our own for his invention of mezzotinto prints, since risen from their softness and beauty, into so high esteem. He likewise delighted in making locks for fire arms, and was the inventor of a composition called, from him, PRINCE'S METAL. He communicated to the royal society his improvements upon gunpowder; by refining the several ingredients, and making it more carefully; which, as appears upon several trials reported to that learned body; augmented its force, in comparison of ordinary powder, in the proportion of ten to one; an invention, which though too expensive for common occasions, deserves to be remembered, because in particular cases it may be of particular utility. He also acquainted them with an engine he had contrived for raising water; and sent them an instrument, of which he made use; to cast any platform into perspective; and for which they deputed a select committee of their members to return him their thanks. He was the inventor of a gun for discharging several bullets with the utmost speed, facility, and safety; which was generally and justly admired. The royal society received likewise from his highness the intimation of a certain method of blowing up rocks in mines; and other subterraneous places. The very ingenious and indefatigable Dr. HOOK has preserved another invention of his for making hail shot of all sizes. He devised a particular kind of screw, by the means of which, observations taken by a quadrant at sea were secured from receiving any alteration by the unsteadiness of the observer's hand, or through the motion of the ship. He had also, amongst other secrets, one that was very curious, and, if preserved, might be very beneficial, which was that of melting or running black lead, like a metal, into a mould, and reducing it back again into its original form.

As to his public character in the last ten years of his life, it was that of a patriot, which was owing to the innate honesty of his temper, and to his not having any liking to intrigues. He gave indefatigable attention to whatever appeared to him conducive to the public good. He was a great promoter of the trade to Africa, and a principal pro-
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rector of the royal African company, as a proof of which, before the first Dutch war (in this reign) he offered his majesty to sail with a squadron to the coast of Guinea, in order to vindicate the honour of the crown, assert the just rights of the company, and redress the injuries done to the nation: but the king, unwilling to hazard his person at such a distance, and in so sickly a climate, though he received the motion kindly, would not consent to it, but contented himself with taking an officer of his recommendation, (captain Holmes), under whom the squadron was sent. He was an active member of the council of trade. It was owing to his solicitations, after being at great expence not only in the inquiry into the value, but in sending ships thither, that the Hudson's bay company was erected, of which he was the first governor appointed by the charter. In memory of him, a considerable opening on the east side of that bay, in Terra de Labrador, is called Rupert's river. In general, his highness was a great friend to seamen, and to all learned, ingenious, and public-spirited persons, and assisted them with his purse, as well as afforded them his countenance. He was concerned in the patent for nealed cannon, in a glass-house, and other undertakings for acquiring or improving manufactures, for which some have censured him as giving encouragement to projectors. But surely this censure is very ill placed, since, without such patrons, industry and ingenuity would want support, and many useful inventions, many valuable discoveries, barely emerge, and then sink again into oblivion. But strict justice has been done to his highness's many virtues, and amiable qualities, by abler and more impartial judges, especially in that excellent character of him by the elegant pen of bishop Sprat. In respect to his private life he was so just, so beneficent, so courteous, that his memory remained dear to all who knew him. This I say of my own knowledge, having often heard old people in Berkshire speak in raptures of prince Rupert.

He died at his house in Spring-gardens on the 29th of November, 1682, in his grand climacteric, leaving behind him a natural son, usually called Dudley Rupert, by a daughter of Henry Bard, viscount Bellemont, though styled in his father's last will and testament Dudley Bard. He received the first tincture of letters at Eton school, where the gentleness of his temper, and the modesty and amiable-ness of his behaviour, procured him universal esteem. His genius, however, inclining rather to arms than study, he was placed under the care of that celebrated mathematician

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Sir Jonas Moore at the Tower. Here he continued till the demise of the prince; when he made a tour into Germany to take possession of a considerable fortune which had been bequeathed to him. He was very kindly received by the palatine family, to whom he had the honour of being so nearly allied. In 1686 he made a campaign in Hungary, and distinguished himself at the siege of Buda, where he had the misfortune to lose his life, in the month of July or August, in a desperate attempt made by some English gentlemen upon the fortifications of that city, in the twentieth year of his age, and, though so young, had signalized his courage in such an extraordinary manner, that his death was exceedingly regretted. The prince left also a natural daughter, the lady Ruperta, by Mrs. Margaret Hughes. This lady Ruperta afterwards married general Howe, and is since deceased.

MEMOIRS OF SIR JOHN LAWSON, Vice Admiral of the Red Squadron.

THIS eminent commander was the son of a person in low circumstances at Hull, and bred to the sea, either on account of his own taking a liking to it, or that it best suited with his father's situation; who, perhaps, knew not otherwise how to provide for him. In process of time he obtained a ship by his merit; and serving in the fleet under the parliament, was made a captain therein, for his extraordinary desert. He served with great fidelity against all their enemies, so long as the parliament retained their power; and, towards the end of the war carried a flag, together with Penn, under Monk.

In 1653, we commanded a fleet of forty-four sail, which were sent over to the coast of Holland; and in this expedition, by taking a scarce credible number of prizes, his acceptable service had great influence in making the peace. On the change of the government, and Cromwell's assuming the supreme power to himself, he was continued in his command, and treated with very much respect; but, it seems, his principles did not incline him to act so steadily under the new government as he had done under the old.

It is very certain, that the protector Oliver had early intelligence of Lawson's disaffection. Colonel Overton, who had plotted against Monk in Scotland, had, in some of his conferences with his friends, mentioned vice admiral Lawson as a person upon whom they might depend; yet, for

for all this, he was employed and intrusted to command a fleet for the channel service in 1655. But the Spanish war had the same effect upon him that it had upon many officers; he looked upon it as a flagrant act of injustice and tyranny, and began from that moment to enter into schemes against the protector.

There were at the same time a very formidable body of men, who conspired also against Cromwell on the most enthusiastic principles, and were styled fifth monarchy men. With these Lawson, Okey, Rich, and other officers, thought fit to join, because they agreed with them in the main, and were for pulling down the tyranny. Secretary Thurloe, however, had such early and such clear informations of all their proceedings, that they were able to effect nothing: on the contrary, April 10, 1657, major-general, Harrison, admiral Lawson, and several others, were committed; which put an end to their intrigues.

When he recovered his liberty, he judged it proper to retire, and very probably did not imagine he should ever be employed again: but, upon the first news of the return of admiral Montague with his fleet from the Baltic, the parliament resolved to have it put into the hands of one in whom they could confide, and therefore sent for Mr. Lawson, declared him vice admiral, gave him the command of a few frigates, and ordered him to take the charge of the whole fleet on its arrival. In his privacy he had conversed with some understanding cavaliers, and came to have a true notion of the folly of shifting from one form of government to another, and the great crime of subverting the constitution of one's country, to which an absolute obedience is due. As soon, therefore, as he heard of general Monk's march into England, he resolved to co-operate with him; and, knowing that nothing could be done but by the medium of a parliament, he got the fleet to declare roundly upon that head; for which he received their solemn thanks.

Immediately after the restoration he was sent as vice admiral to the earl of Sandwich, when he went to fetch queen Catherine from Portugal, and was afterwards employed in the Mediterranean against the Algerines, to whom he did considerable damage, and so effectually blocked up their port, that they were not able to send any of their cruizers abroad. More he might, and certainly would have done, if he had not been disappointed in his expectation from de Ruyter, who, with his Dutch Squadron, was sent on the same errand. These admirals differed about a salute which de Ruyter paid Lawson, and Lawson refused to return, as
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being bound up by his instructions. After this there was no harmony between them: the Dutch admiral took the first opportunity of quitting this service, and slipping away to Guinea, which was highly resented by king Charles, and alledged as one of the causes of the Dutch war.

On the 21st of April, 1665, the duke of York sailed with a grand fleet to the coast of Holland, himself carrying the red flag, prince Rupert the white, and the earl of Sandwich the blue. Towards the latter end of the engagement, which happened off Leostoff, on the memorable 3d of June, that day twelve years in which they had been beat by Monk; Lawson, after he had exceeded all that he had done before, was by a musket shot in his knee disabled from enjoying that victory which he had laboured so hard to gain. He did not, however, die till some days after, *viz.* June 29, 1665, when he had the satisfaction of knowing that his country triumphed, and that, as he had lived, so he died with glory.

It is worth observing, that all the writers of those times, though they differ widely in respect to many characters, concur in commending Sir John Lawson as a brave, honest, loyal commander, and as a very able and understanding seaman; and, as such, deserves to be honourably remembered.

MEMOIRS OF SIR JOHN KEMPTHORNE.

SIR JOHN KEMPTHORNE was descended from a good family in Devonshire, and was born in the parish of Widscombe in that county in the year 1620. His father being a royalist and in low circumstances, was glad of an opportunity of binding him apprentice to the captain of a trading vessel belonging to Topsham, with whom he lived very happily for some years; and, being a young man of natural good abilities, he attained an extraordinary degree of knowledge in his profession, by which, and by the favour of his master, he grew into great credit with the most eminent traders in Exeter, in whose service he made various voyages into the Mediterranean, with large profit to them, and no small reputation to himself. In the beginning of our wars with Spain he distinguished himself by a very extraordinary action. He was attacked by a large Spanish man of war, commanded by a knight of Malta; and though the odds were very great, yet captain Kempthorne defended himself gallantly, till all his ammunition was spent,

spent, and then, remembering that he had several large bags of pieces of eight on board, he thought they might better serve to annoy than enrich the enemy, and therefore he ordered his men to load their guns with silver, which did such execution on the Spaniards rigging, that, if his own ship had not been disabled by an unlucky shot, he had in all probability got clear. At last, however, overpowered by numbers, he was boarded, taken, and carried into Malaga.

The knight, to whom he was prisoner, treated him with the utmost kindness and civility, carried him home to his house, gave him the free use of it, spoke of him with much respect, commended his valour to every body, and declared, that he never knew a man who deserved higher preferment; and after a short stay in this manner, which I can scarce call a confinement, he sent him to England. It is a great misfortune, that one is obliged to relate such a passage as this, without the proper circumstances of names and dates; but, when these have been slighted by such as first committed the fact to writing, they are not afterwards easily recovered. However, there can be no doubt made as to the truth of the relation, since, upon the credit of this action, captain Kempthorne laid the foundation of his subsequent fortunes. Having premised this, we may proceed to the second part of this adventure. Some years after, the same knight of Malta was taken in the Streights by commodore Ven, and brought prisoner into England, where he was committed to the Tower: this afforded the captain an opportunity of returning all the civilities he had received, and of procuring his liberty, which he did at his own expence, and furnished him with every thing necessary to return to Spain; an action generous and grateful in itself, and which could not fail of doing our English commander great honour.

After the restoration, captain Kempthorne had some merit to plead, his father having quitted the profession of the law, to serve as a lieutenant of horse in the king's army, which honest and loyal act proved his total ruin. Whether this or any personal interest which his son might have, brought him into the navy, it is not easy to say; but, soon after the king's return, he was provided with a ship, viz. the *Mary Rose*, a third rate, carrying forty-eight guns, and two hundred and thirty men. In this ship he went as convoy to a considerable fleet of merchantmen in the Streights, and in the month of December, 1669, met with a squadron of seven Algerine men of war: by his prudence

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dence and courage he preserved, however, all the vessels under his care, and obliged the enemy to sheer off, after leaving behind them several of their men, who had boarded the *Mary Rose*, and were brought by captain Kempthorne into England.

This gallant action justly entitled him to a star; and yet it was some years afterwards out-done, with great satisfaction to the captain: for his son, a young gentleman of three and twenty, in the *King's Fisher*, a frigate of forty-six guns, and two hundred and twenty men, engaged seven Algerines, three of which carried as many guns as the whole squadron that his father had to deal with; and after many hours fight, in which he was several times boarded, made them weary of their undertaking, and carried the king's ship safe into a Spanish port, where himself died of his wounds.

MEMOIRS of SIR GEORGE AYSCOUGH, or, as generally written, AYSCUE, Admiral of the White.

SIR GEORGE AYSCUE, whose merit was great, and so generally understood, that he was preferred without envy; nay, his preferments were attended with such universal applause, as at length, which often happens in popular states, rendered him obnoxious to his masters. This did not hinder his appearing again in a higher station with equal reputation; and having often vanquished enemies, he in the last action of his life, triumphed over fortune.

When a great part of the fleet revolted in the summer of 1648, and set colonel Rainsborough on shore, who was sent to take the command, Sir George Ayscue preserved his ship the *Lion* for the parliament, and brought her into the river Thames, of which he gave them notice. This important service at so critical a conjuncture was received with great satisfaction, and he was desired, with captain Moulton, to sail over to the coast of Holland, to watch the motions of the ships then under the prince of Wales. The next year he was declared admiral in the Irish seas, and directed to relieve Dublin, which was a thing of the utmost consequence. This he very successfully performed, as also many other services; which induced them to continue him in that office for another year, in which space he did all, and even more than they expected; for which they honoured him with their thanks, and assured him they would retain a

suitable sense of what he had done in support of the English and Protestant interest in that kingdom.

The war, at least as far as it was a sea war, being brought to a conclusion in Ireland, the parliament found themselves at liberty to make use of their fleet elsewhere, and thereupon resolved to reduce the island of Barbadoes, which was held for king Charles by the lord Willoughby of Parham, who had served them long; but when he saw they meant to subvert the constitution, quitted them, and went to king Charles II. in Holland, by whom he was declared vice admiral of the revolted fleet, and afterwards governor of the Leward Islands. In order to accomplish this, orders were sent to Sir George Ayscue to form a squadron, which he was to man and victual as soon as possible, and then proceed to Barbadoes: but, before he was in any readiness to sail, these orders were countermanded. The reason of this was, the parliament had information, that the Dutch were treating with Sir John Greenville, in order to have the isles of Scilly put into their hands; and therefore it was thought necessary to reduce those islands first. Blake and Ayscue were employed in this expedition in the spring of the year 1651, and performed it with honour and success. They had but a small body of troops on board, and Sir John Greenville had a considerable force in the island of St. Mary, commanded by some of the best officers in the late king's army; so that, if things had been decided by the sword, the dispute must have been both bloody and doubtful. Sir John easily perceived that this must end fatally in respect to him, and the remains of the king's forces under his command, and therefore entered into a treaty with general Blake and admiral Ayscue, who used him very honourably, and gave him fair conditions: after which Blake returned to England, and Ayscue prepared for his voyage to Barbadoes.

He arrived at Barbadoes on the 26th of October, 1651, and became quickly sensible of the difficulty of that enterprise. His own force was very inconsiderable in comparison of that of the island: The governor was a man of quality, good sense, and well beloved, and had assembled a body of near five thousand men to oppose him. In spite of all these difficulties, he was determined to do his utmost to reduce the place, which he compleatly accomplished.

He returned to Plymouth on the 25th of May, 1652, with great reputation. The Dutch war, which broke out while he was abroad, was now very warm, and Sir George

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was forced to take a share therein, though his ships were with so long a voyage extremely foul, and in a manner unfit for service: yet, when general Blake sailed to the north, he performed glorious, indeed almost incredible things; for in July he took five Dutch merchantmen, and afterwards attacked a fleet of forty sail under the convoy of four men of war, took seven, burnt three, and forced the rest on the French shore. On the 16th of August, 1652, the Dutch attempted to surprise Sir George with a great fleet, who was just then returned from convoying a rich fleet of East-India ships into Plymouth. Though he was much inferior in strength, he fought notwithstanding, and at last, with considerable loss, forced them to retire. After this, he continued to behave vigorously against the enemy; and though his services were not very well received by the parliament, yet both the seamen and the people agreed that he had acted like a HERO.

In some short time after this, the parliament thought fit to consider Sir George's former services, and to vote him, as a reward, three hundred pounds a-year in Ireland, and also three hundred pounds in money; but they thought proper, at the same time, to lay him aside, under pretence that the honour of the nation was some way affected by the loss he had suffered in the late fight in Dover road: but this was a mere pretence; for not only our own historians, but the Dutch writers also, agree, that never any man behaved better than he did upon that occasion; and so far was the honour of the nation from being at all injured by any loss he sustained, that this very action was then, and still is considered as one of the strongest proofs of the invincible courage of the English at sea. Nay, immediately before he was dismissed from his command, he gave a most extraordinary proof of his courage; for he protested against Blake's retreat, after he had been worsted in the battle of the 29th of November, and declared, he thought it more honourable to perish at sea, than to retire in the sight of an enemy; and upon this occasion he intimated a design of throwing up, which gave his enemies so fair an opportunity of taking away his commission.

After this the admiral led a retired life. The grant he had of an estate in Ireland, induced him to go over thither in 1655, where he had frequent conferences with Henry Cromwell who then governed that kingdom, and who conceived from thence so great an esteem for him, that he wrote expressly to secretary Thurloe, to take his advice about a certain matter of moment then in agitation, and in any thing

thing else which required the opinion of a very knowing and experienced person. Yet it doth not appear, that he was ever employed, or perhaps chose to be employed, in the protector's service; for I find him in 1656 at his seat in Surry, which is thus described by Whitlocke: "The house stands environed with ponds, moats, and water, like a ship at sea; a fancy the fitter for the master's humour, who was himself so great a seaman. There, he said, he had cast anchor, and intended to spend the rest of his life in private retirement." He changed his resolution, however, for which, if I mistake not, this visit laid a foundation; since Whitlocke went, in company with the Swedish ambassador, and Sir George was afterwards prevailed upon to quit his retreat, to go over to Sweden, where he was to be admiral.

This scheme, of sending him into the north, was one of the last formed by the protector Oliver. He had always kept a close correspondence with Charles Gustavus, king of Sweden, from the time that prince mounted the throne, and drew many advantages from this conjunction. He saw, therefore, with great regret, the success of the Dutch in settling the affairs of the north, and their awing his ally, the king of Sweden, by keeping a strong fleet in the Baltic. He had his reasons for avoiding a second war with the Dutch; and yet he could not think of abandoning the Swedes. At last, therefore, he took a resolution of sending a stout squadron, well manned, under the command of vice-admiral Goodson, who was to act in conjunction with Sir George Ayscue, as we have shewn in another place; the latter having accepted of a commission in his Swedish Majesty's service; by which stroke of policy, the protector thought he should avoid all disputes with Holland, and yet do as much for the Swedes as they could desire. But this squadron sailing too late in the year, the ice prevented its arrival at Copenhagen: however, admiral Ayscue proceeded to Sweden by land, and was treated with great marks of esteem and favour by his Swedish majesty, with whom he continued to the time of that monarch's decease, which happened in the beginning of the year 1660; so that Sir George Ayscue had no manner of concern in the last troubles in England.

He returned home soon after the restoration, and was received with all the respect that was due to a man of his high rank and merit. He was, as we have already mentioned, appointed one of the commissioners for regulating the affairs of the navy, and in high esteem with the duke

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of York, who always consulted him in whatever regarded maritime concerns. When the Dutch war broke out, in 1664, he went to sea as rear-admiral of the blue squadron, and behaved with great honour in the battle of the 3d of June, 1665. On the duke of York's return to court, and the earl of Sandwich's hoisting the royal flag, Sir George Ayscue served as vice-admiral of the red, and was very fortunate in making prizes.

In 1666, when prince Rupert and the duke of Albermarle commanded, Sir George Ayscue, in the *Royal Prince*, the largest and heaviest ship in the fleet, bore the white flag, as admiral of that squadron, having Sir William Berkley for his vice, and Sir John Harman for his rear-admiral. In the famous battle on the first of June, he did remarkable service, not only against the enemy, but in the preservation of such of the English ships as were disabled by their superior force. With the same successful diligence he acted the two next days; but towards the evening of the third, when prince Rupert appeared with the frigates under his command, and a signal was made for the fleet to join, Sir George Ayscue's ship unfortunately ran upon the *Gallopier*, and could not be got off. There, beaten by the waves, surrounded by his enemies, and unassisted by his friends, he was, as the Dutch writers themselves confess, compelled by his own seamen to strike; upon which, the Dutch took them on board, and finding it impossible to bring off the *Royal Prince*, set her on fire.

This capture of Sir George Ayscue, gave the enemy great satisfaction. They carried him from place to place, by way of triumph, and at last shut him up in the castle of Louvestein, where he continued for some months. After his return, which was in November, when he was graciously received by his majesty, he went no more to sea, but spent the remainder of his days in quiet. But where, or when, this great and gallant seaman concluded his life, I have not hitherto been able (with certainty) to discover.

MEMOIRS of SIR EDWARD SPRAGGE, Admiral of the Blue.

THERE are some men great in a particular way, to a degree of eminence, that exempts them from any blame, though possibly defective in many others. Education and habit alter men frequently, and nature herself sometimes infuses qualities into the breasts of men, which particularly

ticularly disposes them to a certain kind of life, and as apparently disables them from following other pursuits: but it very rarely happens, that a man is alike equal to various, and even to opposite employments. Alcibiades is celebrated, by antiquity, for his peculiar felicity in this respect. In the camp, in the court, in the closet, he was equally able, and esteemed. He was a soldier, a seaman, a statesman, a courtier, a man of business, or a man of pleasure, as circumstances required; and, in every character he assumed, he so far excelled, as to seem born and designed for that alone. The same thing his contemporaries, his companions, those who knew him, and the world too, perfectly well, affirm of Sir Edward Spragge, who, with a fine person, and a gentle temper, had as solid an understanding, and as bold a spirit, as any counsellor or captain of that age.

With all these advantages, with the favour of the duke of York, with the merit of so great services, as he certainly rendered his country, and with the still superior merit of dying gloriously in his country's service, which indeed procured him remains an interment in Westminster-abbey; he was not honoured with a tomb, or any memorial (as far as I can yet discover) where he was born, of what family, or how he attained to his first preferment; which are circumstances that ought to have been recorded, of so great and gallant a man, and which, in or nearer his own times, might have been easily known. But since these are not, at present, to be retrieved, we must be satisfied with those notices which have connected his actions with our public history: and these, we shall find, will abundantly make good what we have already observed, and induce us to regret the want of more particular memoirs; because it is a kind of political justice, to preserve the private history of those who have deserved well of the public.

We find him a captain, in the first engagement with the Dutch, after the Restoration, on the 3d of June, 1665, wherein he behaved with great reputation, and so far recommended himself to the favour of the duke of York, that, upon his majesty's visiting the navy, and going on board the Royal Charles, he received the honour of knighthood; which encouraged him to expose himself still more freely. He was likewise in the four-days battle in June 1666, where he was particularly taken notice of by the duke of Albemarle; and in the succeeding battle, which was fought on the 24th of July, he carried a flag under Sir Jeremiah Smith, admiral of the Blue Squadron; who engaged

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gaged Van Tromp, shattered his vice-admiral, so that she was absolutely disabled; and having ruined the rigging of his rear-admiral, and killed its commander, contributed greatly to the glory of that day.

He distinguished himself, likewise, very remarkably in the close of that war, in the unlucky business at Chatham, where he was employed, by the duke of Albemarle, to maintain the fort of Sheerness, attacked by the enemy on the 10th of June, 1667: and though it was unfinished, his garrison very small, and the place in no state of resistance; yet he continued to defend himself, till it would have been an act of rashness to expose his garrison any longer. When he found how impracticable it was to do any effectual service by land, he set himself to collect as great a force as he could by sea. This amounted to no more than five frigates, seventeen fire-ships, and some tenders; and yet when the Dutch admiral, Van Nes, came up the river again, after their attempt upon Harwich, Sir Edward Spragge engaged him about the Hope. The fight was very unequal; but there being, at first, little or no wind, Sir Edward laid hold of that advantage; and, by dextrously towing his fire-ships, burnt eleven or twelve of theirs, with only six of his own; but the wind stiffening, he was at last obliged to shelter himself, from the enemy's unequal force, under the cannon of the Tilbury-fort.

The next day, the weather being favourable, he attacked the Dutch again, in his turn; and, by the happy management of his fire-ships, put them into such confusion, that, after a short dispute, they were forced to retire, and to burn their last fire-ship themselves, to prevent her being taken. On the 25th they prosecuted their retreat, but with Sir Edward Spragge's squadron of fire-ships in their rear. He followed them to the river's mouth, where they met another squadron of fire-ships from Harwich, which put them in such danger, that above a hundred men in the Vice-admiral of Zeland, and another large man of war, leaped over-board, and were drowned. This was the last action, on our side, in that war.

In 1668, the constable of Castile being appointed governor of the Spanish Netherlands, Sir Edward Spragge was sent over to compliment him upon that occasion, and to enter into some further negotiations for the success of the new measures, in which Sir Edward is said to have been deeply engaged. The truth is, he was raised and supported by the favour of the duke of York; so that he devoted himself wholly to his service, and was thought to have a large share
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in his confidence. Some have from thence reported, that he was a papist; of which there is little probability, since we find him sent to sea with prince Rupert, in 1673, when the Test had driven the duke of York, and others of his religion, from their posts. This advancement of Spragge I mention here, only to obviate the objection to him on the score of religion: for before I speak of his behaviour in the last Dutch war, I must take notice of his employment in the Mediterranean, after his return from his negotiation in Flanders.

There had been several squadrons sent to chastise the Algerines, both by the English and Dutch; but very few of them had been able to effect any great matter; they, generally speaking, contented themselves with some slight action, to the prejudice of these corsairs, and then concluded a peace; which was usually broken by that time they, with their squadrons, were returned home. The consideration of this, together with the loud complaints of the merchants, induced the court to fix upon Sir Edward Spragge to command a squadron in those seas, in hopes of meeting with greater, or making more use of his success than his predecessors, from his known courage and resolution; for it is confessed, by the writers of those times, that Sir Edward greatly resembled the earl of Sandwich, and concealed, like him, a high and daring spirit, under the most captivating address, and most polished behaviour.

He sailed from England, on this expedition, in the spring of the year 1671, with five frigates, and three fire-ships, and there might be as many more ships in those seas; so that, in all, his fleet consisted of about twelve sail. In the latter end of the month of April, he had intelligence that there were several Algerine men of war in Bugia bay; on which, he called a council of war, when it was resolved, that he ought immediately to attack them. In pursuance of this resolution, he sailed thither; but, in his passage, had the misfortune to have the Eagle fire-ship disabled by a storm; and, soon after, one of his ships springing her main-mast, was obliged to bear away for the Spanish shore. Sir Edward, however, persisted in his design, refitted the Eagle, and bore into the bay of Bugia with a brisk gale, not doubting that he should be able to fire the ships: but by that time they got within half-shot of the castle and forts, it fell a dead calm; and when the wind rose again, it proved contrary.

On the 2d of May, they were able to do nothing, for the same reason, the wind changing every half hour; upon which,

which, Sir Edward, in the night, sent out his ships, which, at half o'clock the next day, were in his boats, and his eldest son, who was very dark, drew near, leaving one rowed in, the captain of which found shoal water, and fired a minute before the ships; and then steered off to seaward, saw

The enemy forced to retreat, and to the advantage of the Algerines. The next day the English had a strong boom up with cannon, and a great convenience to the Algerines from doing so. The very utter firing a pistol, that he had drawn too many Algerines last

On Monday, a considerable number of the bay, went out to a vessel to the ships, their cannon considering the opportunity of the day, and the order thereto, she might have sprung up a great miral gave a line, and the wind sunk the ship.

which, Sir Edward resolved to make an attempt upon them in the night with his boats, and the smallest of his fire-ships, which rowed as well as a long-boat. About twelve o'clock that night, he executed his project, sending in all his boats, and the Eagle fire-ship, under the command of his eldest lieutenant Mr. Nugent; but the night proving very dark, and the high land obscuring the ships as they drew near them, they passed by; and lieutenant Nugent leaving one of the boats with the fire ships, besides her own, rowed in, to discover the enemy, leaving orders, with the captain of the fire-ship, to come to an anchor, in case he found shoal water. The lieutenant had not left them a minute before he perceived himself within pistol-shot of the ships; and, concluding the business now as good as done, steered off again to find the fire-ship, and, to his amazement, saw her all in flames.

The enemy taking the alarm at this, the lieutenant was forced to row off with his boats; and so this promising advantage vanished, which had given hopes of burning all the Algerine men of war, without the loss of a man. The next day the enemy unrigged all their ships, and made a strong boom with their yards, top-masts, and cables, buoyed up with casks, for which they had all the leisure and convenience they could wish, the wind hindering the English from doing any thing; and, to try the admiral's patience to the very utmost, it so fell out, that by a drunken gunner's firing a pistol, his other small fire-ship was destroyed; so that he had now none left but the Little Victory, which drew too much water to enter that part of the bay where the Algerines lay.

On Monday the 8th of May, 1671, there appeared a considerable body of horse and foot in the neighbourhood of the bay, which were soon after discovered to be an escort to a very large convoy of ammunition sent from Algiers to the ships; on the safe arrival of which, they fired all their cannon, to testify their joy. Sir Edward Spragge considering this, and not knowing what future reinforcements they might receive, resolved to take the earliest opportunity of making his last and utmost effort; and, in order thereto, directed the Victory to be lightened, so that she might not draw above eight feet. About noon, there sprung up a fine breeze to the east; upon which, the admiral gave the signal for the men of war to draw into a line, and bear up into the bay; immediately after, the wind sunk at once, so that they despaired of doing any thing.

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But about two the gale sprang up again, and the ships bore in, as they were directed. The admiral came to an anchor in four fathom water, close under their castle-walls, which fired upon him continually for two hours. In this space he sent in his own pinnace, and those of the *Mary* and *Dragon*: these cut the boom, though not without considerable loss. Lieutenant Pin, who commanded the *Mary's* boat's crew, had eight wounded with himself; lieutenant Pierce of the *Dragon* was also wounded, with ten of his men, and one killed. In the admiral's own pinnace there were seven killed, and all the rest wounded, except Mr. Harman, who commanded it.

The boom being cut, the fire-ship went in, and getting up athwart their boltsprits, their ships being aground, and fast to the castles, she burnt very well, and destroyed them all. Captain Harris who commanded her, his master's mate, gunner, and one of his seamen, were desperately wounded with small shot, and this at their entrance: so that probably the whole design had proved abortive, if the admiral had not with great prudence commissioned Henry Williams (then one of his master's mates, but who had formerly commanded the *Rose* fire-ship) to take the charge of the vessel, in case the other was disabled; which he did accordingly, and performed all that could be expected from him.

This loss was irreparable to the Algerines, who had picked out those seven men of war, that were here burnt, on purpose to fight Sir Edward Spragge; had furnished them with their best brass ordnance from on board all the rest of their vessels, with between eighteen and nineteen hundred chosen men double-officered, under the command of old Terkey their admiral, of whom between three and four hundred were killed, the castles and town miserably torn, and a vast number of people in them slain and wounded; and, which much increased the misfortune, all their surgeons chests were burnt on board their ships, so that numbers died for want of having their wounds dressed. Besides the men of war, there were burnt a Genoese ship, a small English prize, and a settee.

After having performed, with equal honour and success, the business for which he was sent into the Mediterranean, he returned, in the beginning of the year 1672, with the squadron under his command. The Dutch war was then meditated by our court, but had not as yet broke out. Sir Robert Holmes, who had been the principal instrument in bringing on the first Dutch war, was employed also to be-

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gin this, by attacking the Smyrna fleet, which was then expected home. On the 12th of January Sir Edward Spragge met with Sir Robert Holmes's squadron near the isle of Wight; and, upon Sir Robert's inquiring news, Sir Edward very frankly told him, that he had sailed several days with the Dutch Smyrna fleet, and that in a day or two's time they might be certainly expected.

Sir Robert Holmes was very well pleased with this news, but took great care to say nothing that might give him the least intimation of his having any orders to attack them, though, if he had done so, and required Sir Edward's assistance, he could not possibly have failed of taking or destroying that whole fleet, which was reckoned to be worth a million and a half sterling, and on the taking of which the king depended for a supply towards carrying on the war.

When his royal highness the duke of York had resolved to take upon himself the command once again of the English navy, Sir Edward Spragge was chiefly depended on for assembling the fleet, and preparing all things for the reception of his royal highness; and he performed his part so well, that by the end of the month all things were completely ready, and his highness was invited on board, who joined him soon after, together with the earl of Sandwich, and other persons of distinction. He was present in Solebay fight the 28th of May, and distinguished himself therein by sinking a Dutch ship of sixty guns: during the rest of that campaign he behaved with his accustomed diligence, and returned with great reputation after it was over, which very probably determined the court to employ him the next year in so high a station.

When the duke of York, by the passing of the TEST ACT, was obliged to part with the command, and the court, to gratify the desires of the nation, lay under an absolute necessity of making use of prince Rupert, they took care to secure the fleet notwithstanding, by employing on board it such officers only as they could best, and his highness could least trust. Sir Edward Spragge was to carry the BLUE flag, instead of Sir Robert Holmes whom his highness proposed; and, because there had been a difference between these two admirals, the court thought fit to lay Holmes entirely aside, though he was a very brave man, and had been much in their confidence. Before the fleet put to sea, Sir Edward was sent with the character of envoy extraordinary to France, where he was received with all possible respect, exceedingly caressed during his stay, and, at his taking leave, had a present made him of great value. His business

business was to renew the treaty with that court, to settle the rules that were to be observed on the junction of the French and English fleets, and to restore the old friendship between the courts, which seemed to be somewhat injured by the late proceedings in England. As no circumstances of Sir Edward Spragge's negotiation or instructions were ever communicated to prince Rupert, it gave him fresh grounds of dislike; so that, when Sir Edward came to hoist his flag, there was a great coolness between them.

This did not hinder our admiral's doing his duty very gallantly in the engagement which happened on the 28th of May, 1673, wherein he fought Van Tromp seven hours, forced him to go from the Golden Lion into the Prince on Horseback, and thence into the Amsterdam, from that into the Comet, where he had certainly either been killed or taken, if he had not been relieved by de Ruyter. Sir Edward also twice changed his ship. These circumstances are not mentioned at all in the account which was published after Sir Edward's death; but in prince Rupert's letter to the earl of Arlington the matter is fairly stated.

In the battle of the 4th of June Sir Edward is generally blamed for coming, just before the engagement began, six miles in his boat to receive his highness's orders: however, after he returned, he behaved with great resolution, forced Van Tromp, with whom he was again to contend, twice to change his ship, and would inevitably have either taken or destroyed him, if he had not been relieved by the admiral. The Dutch writers confess his bravery, and own he pushed them hard; and Tromp in his letter to the states says, that he was forced to retreat a little before it was dark.

In the third battle, which happened on the 11th of August, Sir Edward Spragge, with the BLUE squadron, was in the rear, where, it is said, that notwithstanding he had promised prince Rupert not to part from his side, yet, being provoked by Van Tromp, he laid his fore-top sail to the mast to stay for him, and, having engaged his squadron, continued fighting for many hours at a distance from the body of the fleet. Sir Edward was at first on board the Royal Prince, and Van Tromp in the golden Lion; but after a dispute of about three hours, in which the Dutch admiral always avoided, as much as possible, coming to a close fight, Sir Edward's ship was so disabled, that he was forced to go on board the St. George, as Van Tromp for the same reason did on board the Comet. Then the fight between them began again with greater fury than before;

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before : at last the St. George was so battered, that Sir Edward thought fit to leave her, and to endeavour to go on board the Royal Charles ; but, before his boat had rowed ten times his own length from the St. George, it was pierced by a cannon shot ; upon which the crew endeavoured as strenuously as men could do to get back again ; but, before that could be effected, Sir Edward was drowned, his hands taking so strong a hold on the side of the boat, that, when it came to float, he was found with his head and shoulders above water.

MEMOIRS

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INCLUDING A NEW AND ACCURATE

N A V A L H I S T O R Y.

The Naval History of GREAT-BRITAIN, during the reign of king James II. containing an account of the methods made use of for restoring and improving the fleet; their success, and the king's disappointment in his endeavours to prevent an invasion from Holland.

FEW princes have struggled with greater difficulties, before they ascended their thrones, than king James II. and few ever sustained a greater load of trouble afterwards. He succeeded his brother the 6th of February, 1685, with the general acclamations of his subjects, who expected great things from a king who came to the throne with such advantages. He was turned of fifty-one, had good natural parts, improved and strengthened both by education and experience; inclined to, and very diligent in business; an able economist: in fine, a prince who, if he had conducted public affairs with the same ease and dexterity which he shewed in the management of his private concerns, his reign must have been as happy and glorious, as it proved troublesome and unfortunate.

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It was his great foible, that he was constantly influenced by foreign councils, which is a thing the English nation cannot endure.

Yet, as wrong as his conduct was, in almost every other particular, the care he took of naval affairs, deserves to be transmitted to posterity with applause. He had long exercised the office of lord high admiral, in the reign of his brother, and understood it thoroughly; he knew too, the disorders which had crept into the whole economy of the fleet, in the six years immediately preceding his accession; and he was well acquainted, besides, with the difficulties the late king had found, in discovering and applying remedies to these mischiefs.

As soon, therefore, as he was seated on the throne, he began to consider how a total reformation might be wrought, and the affairs of the navy be not only set right for the present, but also be put into such a settled course, as that they might not go suddenly wrong again. With this view, he consulted Mr. Pepys, and some other considerable persons, on whose abilities and integrity he could depend; and having learned from them what was necessary to be done to bring about the ends at which he aimed, he first assigned a stated fund of four hundred thousand pounds a year, payable quarterly out of the treasury, for the service of the navy; and then issued a special commission for settling all things relating to it, and for putting the management thereof into such a method, as might need few or no alterations in succeeding times.

This commission was the wisest act of his whole reign, and answered very effectually all that was, or indeed could be, expected from it.

The commissioners vested with these powers lost no time, but fell immediately on a diligent inspection into the state of the navy, inquired strictly into the causes of past miscarriages, with respect rather to things than men, and taking such measures for the immediate remedy of the mischiefs they discovered, that the old ships were perfectly repaired; the new ones, where they wanted it, altered and amended; the yards properly supplied with the ablest workmen; all the store-houses filled with whatever was requisite, bought at the best hand, and, in all respects, the best in their kind; the estimates brought into proper order, and the whole economy of the navy reduced into so clear a method, that it was impossible any officer could be ignorant of, or mistaken in, his duty, the public service suffer in any of its various

branches, or the king run any hazard of being cheated, without an immediate discovery of the offender.

That all this might more fully and indisputably appear, the commissioners engaged his majesty to visit, in person, the yards, docks, store-houses, &c. which, considering his perfect acquaintance with naval affairs, made it impossible he should be deceived; and then, having demonstrated the justice of their conduct, by leaving the navy much increased, in perfect order, and with sea stores valued at four hundred thousand pounds, they laid down their posts, their commission being superseded with a just approbation of their conduct, by letters patent under the great seal, October 12, 1688. Thus, in little more than two years time, this great reform was made, all the officers of the navy in general paid, to a farthing, and a saving made to the public of upwards of three hundred thousand pounds.

While this commission subsisted, the king issued new instructions to the officers commanding his ships of war: these are dated the 15th of July, 1686, and are extremely well calculated for promoting the public service, securing discipline, and preserving proper memorials of every man's particular merit, by obliging all captains, and superior officers, to deposite a perfect copy of their journals with the secretary of the admiralty.

We need not wonder, that, in consequence of so unwearied an attention, the British fleet was in very good order when king James had the first notice of the prince of Orange's design; but we may be justly surpris'd at the management of maritime affairs from that time. A squadron of ships was immediately ordered to sea, under the command of Sir Roger Strickland, then rear admiral of England, who was perhaps the most improper man in the world to command them, on account of his being obnoxious to the seamen, by the readiness he had shewn in bringing priests on board the fleet. His squadron was ordered to the Downs very indifferently manned; and when he complained of it, and desired to have soldiers at least sent on board, even this was very slowly complied with, considering the importance of the service.

By his instructions he was to have remained in the Downs; but conceiving that to be a very improper station for the service he was expected to perform, after consulting with the captains in whom he could best confide, he certified as much to the court, and offered it as his and their opinion, that it would be better for the fleet to remain at
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the buoy of the Gun-fleet near Harwich. The king, as soon as he received this advice, sent for lord Dartmouth, Sir John Berry, captain John Clements, the three elder brothers of the Trinity-house at Deptford, and Mr. Pepys, to whom he communicated Sir Roger Strickland's letter, and, in consequence of their joint advice, sent the admiral orders to sail out of the Downs with the first easterly wind, and place himself between the north Sand-head and the Kentish Knock, there to continue under sail in the day-time, and at anchor in the night, in order to observe the Dutch fleet, and to gain the best intelligence of them he could, in pursuance of the instructions which were then sent him.

When the danger appeared more clearly, this fleet was directed to retire to the buoy in the Nore, and lord Dartmouth was ordered to sea with such a reinforcement as made the whole fleet under his command consist of forty men of war, of which thirty-eight were of the line of battle, and eighteen fire ships. This fleet being at the Gun-fleet, and ready in all respects to sail, a council of war was called, wherein Sir William Jennings, who commanded a third rate, proposed to put to sea, and stand over to the Dutch coasts, as the shortest and surest way to prevent an invasion. This proposition, however, was rejected by a great majority, and so it was resolved to continue there. The true ground of this, as Mr. secretary Bouchet fairly tells us, was the secret resolution of the greatest part of the captains to hinder the admiral, in case he had come up with the Dutch fleet, from doing them much damage.

It may not now be amiss to cast our eyes over to Holland, in order to consider the force preparing there for this invasion. His highness the prince of Orange had about his person abundance of English noblemen and gentlemen, particularly the earls of Shrewsbury and Macclesfield, the lords Mordaunt, Wiltshire, Pawlet, Elan, and Dumblain, admiral Herbert, Mr. Herbert, colonel Sidney, Mr. Russel, Sir Rowland Gwyn, major Wildman, Dr. Burnet, Mr. Harboard, Mr. Ferguson, and, besides the general officers of the states, the marshal Schomberg, count Charles, his son Mr. Caillemotte, younger son to the marquis of Rouvigni, and two or three hundred French refugees. The fleet that was to carry these consisted of about fifty sail, most of them third or fourth rates, and the transports were about five hundred. These, with twenty-five fire-ships, made up the whole navy: the land forces embarked, were four

thousand horse and dragoons, and ten thousand foot. It was very remarkable, that all the captains of these vessels were Dutch, yet the chief command was given to admiral Herbert, who very lately commanded the English fleet; and this with a view either to engage ships to come over, or at least to encourage the seamen to desert.

In order to do this more effectually, Herbert first addressed a letter to his countrymen in the sea service, and then stood with the Dutch fleet over to the Downs, in order to look at the English squadron, and try what effects his exhortations had produced. At that time his success did not promise much; and, after a fortnight's cruising, he returned to the Dutch coasts, with a better opinion of the king's fleet, and a worse of his own, than when he sailed. But, for all this, his epistle did almost as much service as the force he commanded; for, though the desertion was inconsiderable, yet by degrees the sailors lost their spirits, and their officers began to cabal, and to consult, not how they should execute the orders they had received, but how they might best take their measures to secure the fleet.

On the 13th of October, 1688, the prince went on board, and the whole fleet sailed that night; but the next day, the wind turning north, and then settling in the north-west, it was found impossible to struggle with it, and therefore on the 21st the fleet returned, after having been rudely handled by a storm. On the first of November the fleet sailed again. The prince intended to have gone northwards, and to have his land forces in the mouth of the Humber; but a strong east wind rendered this impracticable, and seemed to direct them to a better course. His highness then sailed westward, the same wind which brought him to the English coast keeping in the king's ships, though they were come down so low as the Gun-fleet. There in a foggy day they passed the English navy undiscerned, except a few transports which sailed in sight, while the English fleet rode with their yards and top-masts down, and could not, by reason of the extraordinary violence of the wind, purchase their anchors.

On the 4th of November at noon, it was resolved on board the Dutch fleet, that part of the ships should go into Dartmouth, and the rest into Torbay; but in the night the pilots overshot both, and then it was determined to go into Plymouth, which, if they had done, might have proved fatal; but the wind, suddenly turning from east to south, corrected the error of their pilots, and brought them

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safe into Torbay, where the army was immediately landed, and the prince made the necessary dispositions for drawing the country gentlemen in the neighbourhood to join him.

As soon as the wind would permit, the earl of Dartmouth, a gallant, loyal, and active officer, weighed with the English fleet, and stood to sea with a resolution to follow and fight the Dutch.

But the wind, turning to the south, carried the prince's fleet into Torbay, it forced the English fleet back, and, afterwards rising into a storm, ruffled them so much, that it was two or three days before lord Dartmouth came again before Torbay; and then it was that, as Mr. Burchet says, he shewed the Dutch a fleet, capable indeed, but little inclined to hurt them. The seamen had time in this space to consider what they were doing, and such of the officers, as were well affected to the prince's design, had an opportunity of working upon them, and disposing things for his service; and thus that naval force, which the king had cultivated with so great care, and on which he depended so much, proved of little or no use, as well as his army: so difficult a thing it is to bring Englishmen to enslave England!

As to the conduct of the king after the arrival of the Dutch fleet, it was unaccountable in itself, if we consider, that his admiral was not only a man of quality, and one on whose fidelity he could absolutely depend, but also an experienced officer, and a man extremely beloved by the sailors. In all probability, he was deterred from taking any measures of this sort, by what happened at the docks, where the workmen employed in the service of the royal navy rose on a sudden, and, without any other arms than the tools belonging to their trades, drove out a regiment of regular troops quartered at Rochester and Chatham, and declared for the protestant religion, and the prince of Orange.

The mistakes committed on this side were heightened in their appearance by the great caution and wise management on the other, as well as by the foreseen and unforeseen consequences of the whole transaction. The embarkation was made with ease; the passage better regulated by the winds, than it could have been by their prudence; the descent in the fittest place in England for landing of horse; so that it was performed without difficulty as well as without danger. Bishop Burnet, therefore, says truly, that these lines from Claudian were very happily applied to the prince of Orange's expedition:

In Holland they triumph on the exact execution of the plan laid down by the states, and the most eminent news-writer they then had made this observation on the success of the prince's enterprize, in his reflections on the history of Europe for November, 1688: "The expence bestowed on the fleet and army, set out from Holland, is a sign they are morally assured of the success of the expedition, which I am apt to think has been a long time in agitation, though it was carried with that prudence and secrecy, as not to be discovered till it could be no longer concealed." When skill, industry, and zeal were visible on the part of the prince, and weakness, irresolution, and diffidence apparent in all the king's measures, it was impossible things should continue long in dispute, or that his highness, who knew so well how to use all the advantages that were in his hands, should not prevail.

When lord Dartmouth saw the disposition of his officers, and how little it was in his power to serve his master, he wisely yielded to necessity; and sailing once again into the Downs, and there holding a council of war, it was resolved first, to dismiss from their commands all such officers as were known to be Papists, or suspected so to be, and then to send up an address to his highness, setting forth their steady affection to the protestant religion, and their sincere concern for the safety, freedom, and honour of their country. Not long after this the ships were dispersed, some to the dock-yards to be dismantled and laid up, others to be cleaned and repaired, and such as were in the best condition for the sea were appointed for necessary services.

These were all the exploits performed by the English navy during the reign of a prince, who, while a subject, had served and acquired a reputation at sea, who understood maritime affairs perfectly well, and who attended to them with extraordinary diligence. But it ought to be remembered, that though this fleet was useless to him, yet it was of the highest advantage to the nation. If he had been less careful in this respect, if he had left the navy in a low condition, nay, if he had left it as he found it at his brother's decease, it would have been impossible for us to have withstood the naval power of France, which had been for several years growing, and about the time of the revolution, or a little before it, had attained to its greatest height.

As it was, the king left behind him as numerous, complete, and well-furnished a navy, as England had ever seen; so that, when the French came out with such a strength as amazed all the world, it surprised indeed, but did not

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ILLUSTRIOUS SEAMEN, &c. 455

fright us; we were quickly in a condition to look them in the face: and the subsequent part of this work will shew, that notwithstanding the mighty change that had happened in a short time abroad, and the pains almost every where taken to create a naval force, yet we were as able to assert our sovereignty in our own seas, and to maintain the honour of our flag every where else, as in any preceding period.

I shall conclude this chapter by exhibiting to the reader's view an exact account of the fleet, and the condition in which it was left by king James, in order to prove what has been before asserted, and to prepare him for the history of those actions at sea, which followed in the next reign.

An Abstract of the state of the French Navy, A. D. 1681.

	Rates.	Number.	Guns.	Mar. Officers.	Sailors.	Soldiers.
I.		12	1080	1232	4132	2486
II.		21	1518	1719	4470	2661
III.		36	1928	2350	6142	3008
IV.		26	1088	1167	2713	1570
V.		20	608	119	681	2790
Totals,		115	6222	7149	18,884	10,407
Small frigates,		24	40	446	937	497
Fire-ships,		8	74	80	150	...
Barks,		10	43	90	190	...
Pinks,		22	341	190	447	...
Totals,		179	7080	7955	20,618	10,904

An Abstract of the List of the Royal Navy of England, upon the 18th of December, 1688, with the force of the whole.

Ships and Vessels.	Rates.	Number.	Force. Men.	Guns.
1		9	6705	878
2		11	7010	974
3		39	16,545	2640
4		41	9480	1908
5		2	260	69
6		6	420	90
Bombers,		3	120	34
Fire-ships,		26	905	218
Hoys,		6	22	00
Hulks,		8	50	00
Ketches,		3	115	24
Smacks,		5	18	00
Yachts,		14	353	104
Total,		173	42,003	6930

MEMOIRS

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ILLUSTRIOUS SEAMEN, &c.

INCLUDING A NEW AND ACCURATE

N A V A L H I S T O R Y.

The Naval History of GREAT-BRITAIN, under the reign of king William III. from the Revolution, to the peace of Ryſwick.

TH E crown was no ſooner placed on the head of the prince of Orange, than he began to feel the weight of it, and experience all the cares that neceſſarily attend it : he had not ſo much leiſure to taſte in peace the firſt moments of royalty, but found himſelf obliged to embark in a war, as ſoon as he was ſeated on the throne. A war in which all Europe was engaged, and engaged in point of intereſt ; for the ambitious deſigns of Lewis XIV. were now ſo evident, that even the powers leaſt inclined to action, ſaw themſelves obliged to provide for their own ſafety, by entering into a confederacy for effectually oppoſing the encroachments of that aspiring prince.

The French king, on the other hand, inſtead of diſcovering any dread of this formidable alliance, began firſt, by falling upon the empire, and declaring war againſt Spain,

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at the same time that he provided for his ally, king James, whom he sent over into Ireland, with a considerable force, escorted by a fleet of thirty sail of men of war, and seven frigates. On the 12th of March, 1688-9, that monarch landed at Kinsale, from whence he went to Corke. On the fourteenth landed M. de Lauzun with five thousand French auxiliaries, and king James sent over general M'Carthy, and as many Irish to France.

It was upon this occasion, that the impolitic and inconsiderate management in the two last reigns, in respect to the correspondence held between our princes and the French king, manifestly appeared by the prodigious growth of his naval power. Under the administration of the great cardinal Richlieu, France was so weak in this respect, that this high-spirited minister was forced, in very pressing terms, to solicit assistance from the Swedes; and even in this reign, Cromwell had shewn the utmost contempt for the French power at sea. To speak truth, it was our wars, with the Dutch, in the reign of king Charles II. that, as the French themselves confess, gave them first an opportunity of learning, at the expence of the maritime powers, what it was to make a figure on an element with which before they were little acquainted. This knowledge they so far improved, by sometimes siding with the Dutch, and sometimes with us, that in the space of less than twenty years, they found themselves able to deal with either nation, and in 1667, actually beat the Dutch and Spanish fleets in conjunction, in the Mediterranean, and killed the famous admiral de Ruyter. At this time, they were grown so much stronger, that we shall see them, during a great part of this reign, endeavouring to dispute the empire of the sea against the joint forces of both the maritime powers: which is sufficient to shew, with how great disadvantage king William entered into the war, in this respect; since, while the enemy took all advantages of pouring supplies into Ireland, his affairs in England were so perplexed, that it was some time before he could provide so much as a force sufficient to cruize on the coast of that island.

At last, admiral Herbert, who commanded the English fleet, in the beginning of the month of April, 1699, sailed, for Corke, with a squadron which consisted of no more than twelve ships of war, one fire-ship, two yachts, and two smacks. Here he received information, that king James had landed at Kinsale, about two months before. He then thought it proper to attempt cutting off the convey

voy that had attended him from France: with this view he sailed for Brest, and cruized off that port for some time; but hearing nothing of the French men of war from the advice-boats he daily received, and having increased his force to nineteen sail, he again steered for the Irish coast, and towards the latter end of April appeared off Kinsale.

On the 29th of that month he discovered a fleet of forty-four sail, which he judged were going into Kinsale, and therefore did his utmost to prevent it. The next day he heard that the enemy were gone into Baltimore, but, upon coming thither, found that information to be false. The wind being then easterly, he stood for Cape-Clear, and in the evening he saw them standing into Bantry bay. He lay off that place till morning, and about break of day resolved to attack the enemy. All our English writers of naval history agree, that the French fleet had some empty transports under their care, but the French writers, say positively, that they had only four merchant ships laden with arms, bridles, saddles, powder, and ball, for the use of king James's army, and a considerable sum of money, which was on board the men of war. This they shipped, as soon as they perceived the English fleet, on board six fire-ships, and sent these, with the merchantmen before mentioned, to land their supplies at a place in the bay seven leagues distant, while they engaged the English squadron, that at all events they might be safe.

Authors vary not a little as to the strength of both fleets, which I take to be rather owing to partiality, than any real difficulty there was of coming at the fact. Mr. Burchet says, the English were but nineteen ships in all. Bishop Kennet more truly reckons them twenty-two, wherein he agrees with all the French relations. The enemy's fleet consisted, according to our accounts, of twenty-eight, according to their own, of no more than twenty-four sail. The English had certainly the wind, and might therefore have avoided fighting, if they had so pleased; but this was by no means agreeable to admiral Herbert's temper: he therefore endeavoured all he could to get into the bay, that he might come to a close engagement; but the French saved him the labour, by bearing down upon him in three divisions about ten in the morning on the first of May. The foremost division consisted of eight ships under the command of Mr. Gaberet; the second of the like force, was commanded by admiral Chateau-Renault; the third, which

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was also of eight ships, had for its commander Mr. Forant: the action was pretty warm for about two hours, but then slackened, because a great part of the English fleet could not come up; but they continued firing on both sides till about five in the afternoon, admiral Herbert keeping out all the time to sea, because he found the dispute very unequal, and that there was no other way by which he could possibly gain the wind, and thereby an opportunity of bringing his whole fleet to engage. But about the hour before mentioned, the French fleet stood into the bay, which put an end to the action. The English writers ascribe this either to want of courage, or the admiral's being restrained by his orders; but the French inform us, that he retired in order to take care of the ships under his convoy, and that, after they had entirely debarked the supply they had brought, he disposed every thing in order to put to sea the next morning, which he did.

This is the battle in Bantry bay, which, though inconsiderable enough in itself, is yet magnified by some writers into a mighty action. The French had one ship called the Diamond set on fire, and two others so much damaged, as to be obliged to draw out of the line. The affair was certainly very inconsiderable, and any advantage that was gained was rather to be ascribed to a favourable wind, and superior force on one side, than to any want either of courage or conduct on the other.

After the action admiral Herbert bore away for the Scilly islands, and, having cruised there for some time, returned to Spithead; upon which occasion king William went down in person to Portsmouth, where, to shew he would distinguish and reward merit, though not pointed out to him by success, he declared admiral Herbert earl of Torrington, and knighted captain John Ashby of the *Defiance*, and captain Cloudesley Shovel of the *Edgar*, giving at the same time a bounty of ten shillings to each seaman, and making a provision for Mrs. Ailmer, relict of captain Ailmer, and for the rest of the widows of such as had been killed in the action. This was well judged by that prince, and was indeed an act of his own, flowing from the thorough knowledge he had of mankind, and the necessity there is of keeping up the spirits of seamen, if we expect they should perform great things. He said, when he read the account of the battle of Bantry bay, that such actions were necessary at the beginning of a war, though they would be rash in the course of it; which shews his great penetration.

penetration, and accounts for his creating admiral Herbert a peer, after an affair in which he had certainly no advantage.

The fleet being at length refitted, the admiral sailed with it for Torbay in the middle of June, where he was afterwards joined by a Dutch fleet, and by vice-admiral Killebrew's squadron, which had been cruising before Dunkirk. This combined fleet stood over to the coast of France, and continued cruising there, and in the soundings, till towards the latter end of August; and being then in great want of beer, and there being not the least appearance of the French putting to sea, they returned to Torbay, where soon after the fleet separated, the larger ships which wanted repair being ordered into port, and the rest distributed into several squadrons for different services. Before we speak more particularly of these, it will be proper to take notice of what was performed by some other squadrons, which had been detached earlier in the year.

When king James landed in Ireland, his affairs had very promising aspect on that side. He brought with him a very considerable supply, and he found there an army of 40,000 men complete. There were but two places in the north which held out against him, *viz.* Londonderry and Iniskilling. Of these he determined to make himself master, and might easily have done it, if he had been well advised; but, as bishop Burnet justly observes, there was a kind of fatality that hung on his councils. He resolved to begin with Londonderry, in respect to which two proposals were made him; the first was, to attack the place vigorously, and take it as soon as possible by storm; the other, to block up the city, and to act with his great army in such a manner as might best suit his interest, till this place should by dint of famine be compelled to surrender. Either of these methods might have succeeded, but king James declined these, and made choice of a third, which was to take the place by a slow siege, in order to inure his Irish army to fatigues, and to render them by this kind of discipline more fit for service. This resolution of his gave sufficient time for an application to the government in England; and upon this two regiments of foot, under the command of colonel Cunningham and colonel Richards, with some supplies, were sent thither: they arrived on the 15th of April in the Lough; but colonel Lundy, who was governor of the town, being, as it was commonly believed, in king James's interest, persuaded those gentlemen, that it was impracticable to defend the place, and that therefore
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the best thing they could do was to return and preserve his majesty's troops; which they accordingly did. The townsmen, having turned out their governor, however, made a noble defence, which gained time for another application to England.

During this space, commodore Rooke, who had been sent with a squadron in the month of May to the coast of Ireland, performed all that could be expected from him there, by keeping king James and his army from having any intercourse with the Scots; and on the 8th of June he sailed in with the *Bonaventure*, *Swallow*, *Dartmouth*, and a fleet of transport-ships, under the command of major-general Kirke, who was come with this force to relieve Londonderry. The commodore concurred with him, as it was his duty, very cheerfully in carrying on this service. When they came to examine the method taken by the enemy to prevent their relieving this place, they found they had laid a boom cross the river, composed of chains and cables, and floated with timber, there being strong redoubts at each end, well provided with cannon. Upon a view of this, general Kirke resolved to make himself master of the Inch, an island in Lough Swilly, in which the commodore assisted him so effectually, that on the 16th he was in full possession not only of that island, but of the pass to the main; and, having performed this service, he returned to his station.

He continued there till the 22d, on which day he received by the *Portland* man of war a letter from the general, wherein he informed him, that, being satisfied the place was reduced to the last extremity, he was determined to attempt its relief at any rate. The commodore upon this left the *Bonaventure* at *Portland* on his station, and, with the *Deptford* and *Dartmouth*, sailed to the assistance of the major-general. He sent the *Dartmouth*, commanded by captain, afterwards Sir John Leake, up to *Kilmore* to receive his orders, and then returned to the *Bonaventure* and *Portland*, with intention to continue there till the arrival of the three ships he expected from the earl of Torrington. With this assistance major-general Kirke, having properly disposed the men of war, on the 30th of July sent the *Mountjoy* of Derry, captain Browning, and the *Phoenix* of Colerain, captain Douglas, both deeply laden with provisions, under the convoy of the *Dartmouth* frigate, to attempt breaking the boom. The Irish army made a prodigious fire upon these ships as they passed, which was very briskly returned, till the *Mountjoy* struck against the boom, and
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broke it, and was by the rebound run ashore; upon this the Irish gave a loud huzza, made a terrible fire upon, and with their boats attempted to board her. But the sailors firing a broadside, the shock loosened her so, that they floated again, and passed the boom, as did the Phoenix also, under cover of the Dartmouth's fire. This seasonable supply saved the remainder of that brave garrison, which, after a hundred and five days close siege, and, being reduced from seven thousand five hundred to four thousand three hundred, had only subsistence for two days left, the enemy raising the siege on the last of July.

Commodore Rooke, on the 13th of August, escorted the duke of Schomberg's forces, consisting of upwards of ten thousand men, horse and foot, embarked in ninety vessels of several sorts, and landed them safe in Groom's bay near Carrickfergus, whither he brought the remainder of the army and the artillery, and then continued with the general, till they had taken the town, and had not any farther occasion for his assistance. He stationed afterwards as many ships and yachts of his Squadron as he thought requisite for the maintaining the correspondence between England and Ireland, and preventing any attempt that might be made by French or Scotch privateers. He sailed next with those few ships that were remaining to Dublin, where he insulted the city by manning his boats, and making a shew of landing; and on the 18th of September he actually endeavoured to burn all the vessels that were in the harbour, and had certainly performed it, if the wind had not veered about, and blew a fresh gale, as the yachts and ketches were going in, which obliged him to abandon his design, and to put to sea. King James was at this time in the place, and, which is still more, was also an eye-witness of this bold attempt.

From the bay of Dublin commodore Rooke sailed to Corke, where he attempted likewise going into the harbour, but was prevented by the brisk fire of the enemy made from their batteries, on which were mounted seventeen or eighteen pieces of cannon. He took possession, however, of the great island, and might have done farther services, if his ships had not by this time grown foul, and his provisions low; which forced him to quit his station, and repair to the Downs, where he arrived on the 13th of October, after having given by his activity, vigilance, and indefatigable attention to his duty in this expedition, an earnest of the great things which he afterwards performed when Sir George Rooke, and admiral and commander in chief of the British fleet.

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As to the remaining naval transactions of this year, they were not many or great; and therefore I shall only mention the taking of two celebrated sea officers in the French service, *viz.* the gallant chevalier Fourbin, and the famous John du Bart. They commanded two small frigates, and had under their convoy six rich merchantmen, homeward bound. Near the isle of Wight they were chased by two of our fifty gun ships, which they engaged very bravely, though they saw that it was a thing impossible for them to avoid being taken. All they aimed at was to give their merchantmen time to escape, in which they succeeded; for, while they fought desperately, the vessels under their convoy got safe into Rochelle. As for the chevalier Fourbin and captain Bart, they were carried prisoners into Plymouth, from whence they not long after found means to escape, and got safely over to Cadiz. For this generous action the French king rewarded each of them with the command of a man of war: but our writers of naval history have been so careless, that I cannot find with any certainty who the captains were that took them. We have indeed a much more particular relation of this affair in Fourbin's memoirs, wherein it is said they had twenty merchantmen under their convoy; that they fought two long hours, and that one of the English captains was killed in the engagement; but I think the relation, as I have given it, is more to be depended upon, as it comes from an unbiassed, and at the same time a very accurate historian.

I shall open the naval transactions of 1690, with an account of admiral Russell's sailing into the Mediterranean, though this is, generally speaking, accounted a transaction of the former year; but my reason for placing it here, is the fleets not putting to sea till the spring, though orders were given for it in the preceding winter. His catholic majesty, Charles II. having espoused a princess of the house of Neubourg, sister to the reigning empress, and to the queen of Portugal, demanded an English fleet to conduct her safely to his dominions, which was readily granted; and indeed such a compliment never had been refused, even to states in war with us, because it was always taken as a tacit confession of our dominion at sea; which might, methinks, have secured it from bishop Burnet's censure. On the twenty-fourth of November, admiral Russell sailed with seven large men of war, and two yachts, to Flushing, in order to receive her catholic majesty, and her attendants; and had orders, as soon as the queen came on board, to hoist the union flag at the main-top-mast-head, and to

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wear it there as long as her majesty was on board. On the eighteenth of January, 1690, she arrived in the Downs; on the twenty-fourth, she came to St. Helen's, whither their majesties, king William and queen Mary, sent the duke of Norfolk to compliment her, as did their royal highnesses the prince and princess of Denmark, the lord Cornbury, and colonel Berkeley. The admiral had orders to put to sea with the first fair wind, and was instructed to block up the harbour of Toulon, in order to prevent the French squadron there from coming out; and he endeavoured it on the beginning of February, and again towards the end of the month, but was forced back to Torbay on the twenty-third. Thence he sailed again in a few days, but was driven back on the second of March. At last he sailed with a pretty fair wind, on the seventh of that month, with a stout squadron of thirty men of war, under his command, and a fleet of four hundred merchantmen, bound for the Streights; and, after a very tempestuous passage, landed her catholic majesty on the sixteenth, at the Groyne; from whence he failed to execute his other commission, but was forced by contrary winds into the harbour of Ferrol, where the Duke, a second rate man of war, in a brisk gale of wind, ran ashore, and was with great difficulty got off. The admiral having executed his commission, and having left the vice admiral Killegrew, with the Mediterranean squadron, behind him, bore away with the first fair wind for England, and arrived at Portsmouth on the 28th of April, where he landed several persons of quality who had attended her catholic majesty in her voyage.

Vice admiral Killegrew arrived at Cadiz on the eighth of April, where having, according to his instructions, taken all possible care of the trade, and having been joined by two Dutch men of war, the Guelderland and Zurichzee, he was next to proceed from thence in order to attend the motions of the Toulon squadron. In this, however, he met with no small difficulty, by reason of the stormy weather, which injured several ships of his squadron extremely, and the two Dutch ships, one of seventy-two, and the other of sixty-two guns, after losing all their masts, except a mizen, foundered. In repairing these unlucky accidents, a great deal of time was wasted; and so much the more through the coldness and inactivity of the governor of Cadiz, who, for his negligence in this respect, was justly suspected of being in the French interest. Before things, through these disadvantages, could be brought into perfect order, the vice admiral, on the ninth of May, received

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three different accounts of the Toulon squadron being at sea. Upon this, he held a council of war, wherein it was resolved, that pursuant to his instructions, he should immediately put to sea, in order to go in pursuit of it. On the tenth of May, about four in the morning, he sailed accordingly, with nine English, and two Dutch ships, and arrived the next day in the mouth of the Streights, where he was joined by captain Shelton, and his detachment, from the bay of Gibraltar, and at the same time received intelligence, that the French fleet was in the bay of Tetuan: thither he sailed in quest of them; his fleet consisting now of one second rate, three third rates, six fourth rates, two fifth rates, in all twelve men of war, and two fire ships, besides five Dutch men of war. On his arrival in Tetuan bay, he found only two ships, one at anchor, and the other under sail; the latter put out Algerine colours, and escaped; but the former, being embayed, was taken by the Dutch vice admiral Allemonde, and proved to be a French ship bound for the West-Indies.

The wind shifting, the admiral stood over again towards the Spanish coast, and being two leagues W. N. W. off Ceuta point, the man at the mast-head saw ten ships to the north, with their heads lying eastwards. Upon this, advice was given to the Dutch admiral, and the Montague was sent a-head to discover the enemy's motions; the fleet still continuing to stretch over to Gibraltar. About one o'clock they were within two miles of the French squadron, which appeared to be on the run, and therefore our ships set their top-gallant-sails, and crowded after them; but to little purpose, for the French being all clean ships, just come out of port, (whereas some of ours had been seventeen months off the ground), it is no wonder they got clear of them. The chase was continued till the next day, when the enemy were four leagues a-head, and the Dutch and one of the English ships as much a-stern, insomuch, that the admiral had with him no more than four ships, which induced him to give over the chase; yet, between nine and ten in the morning, the Richmond and the Tyger forced one of the merchant ships on shore to the westward of Tariffa. About three in the afternoon, the whole fleet joined, and the admiral bore away for Cadiz.

The French writers have done their best to give this retreat the air of a victory: one of them tells us, that Mr. Chatteau-Renault, notwithstanding the great superiority of the enemy, ordered all the merchant ships under his convoy, to sail before, while he remained with his squadron of

eight men of war between them and the English; and that after this, perceiving one of the vessels, which was a very bad sailer, had fallen behind, he lay by till she passed him, and then, perceiving the English squadron did not incline to engage, he continued his course. Such flourishes are so natural to these authors, that, after a very few instances, I shall content myself with a bare relation of them, and leave their credit to the candid consideration of every impartial reader.

It was the 21st of May before vice-admiral Killegrew could reach the port of Cadiz, where, having made the necessary detachments for the safe convoy of our homeward-bound merchantmen, he, in pursuance of his instructions, set sail for England, and in thirty-five days arrived at Plymouth with one second and four third rates of ours, six Dutch men of war, the Half-Moon and Virgin prize. On his arrival at Plymouth, he received letters from the lords of the admiralty, informing him, that the French, after an engagement, had obliged our fleet to retire, and were with their own about Rye, Dover, and those parts, and therefore he was to take all imaginable care of his squadron. Upon this he called a council of war, at which were present the Dutch admirals Allemonde and Evertzen, and Sir Cloudesley Shovel, rear admiral of the red, then just returned from the Irish coast. Upon mature deliberation, they determined it was safest to proceed with the ships into Hamoze within Plymouth-sound; for, as they were large ships, they could not run in at low water, and as they were in want of water, provisions and sea-stores, it was impossible for them to put to sea; so that this was the only way left to be secure from any attempts of the French.

The French had been very industrious this year in sending a large fleet to sea, and that early in the season; for on the 1st or 2d of March they embarked a great supply for Ireland under the convoy of a squadron of thirty-six men of war, which sailed on the 7th of the same month, attended by four fire ships and five flutes, and were afterwards joined by another squadron from Provence, with several transports; so that in all they convoyed over six thousand men, besides ammunition and money. Part of these they landed on the 11th at Kinfale, and the rest on the 13th in the bay of Corke. On the 8th of April they left the coasts of that island, in order to return into the road of Brest, which they did safely on the 23d, and then prepared to join their grand

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grand fleet, which had orders to assemble under the command of the count de Tourville.

While the French were thus employed, our councils were chiefly bent on sending over a royal army, to be commanded by king William in person to Ireland. This great design was brought to bear about the beginning of the month of June, when his majesty left London to march toward the coast, where he embarked his forces on board two hundred eighty-eight transports on the 11th, and, escorted by a squadron of six men of war under Sir Cloudesley Shovel, sailed for Carrickfergus, where he safely arrived on the 14th of the same month, and soon after dismissed rear admiral Shovel, with the Plymouth squadron, with orders to join the grand fleet, which, as we have before shewn, he could not do, till it was too late.

There was nothing better understood in England than the absolute necessity of assembling early in the year a stronger fleet in the channel. The honour of the kingdom depended upon it; for the French, after their small advantage in Bantry bay, had given out, that they would the next summer insult the joint fleets of the English and Dutch. What was still more, the nation's safety depended on this measure no less, since the king and the greatest part of his forces were abroad, scarce seven thousand regular troops left in England; and such as were in the interest of king James almost every where in motion, and waiting in all appearance for nothing, but the sight of a French fleet on the coast, to take up arms, and declare against the government.

Yet, for all this, our maritime proceedings were very slow, for which various, and some scarce credible causes are assigned. It was given out, that the greatest part of the fleet was disaffected; and, to wipe off this suggestion, it was thought necessary that an address should be sent up from the Downs, which was accordingly done. On the other hand, it was late before the Dutch sent their fleet to sea, and the English, knowing that nothing of consequence could be done till after their junction, were the less solicitous about putting themselves in order, till they heard of their being at sea.

The conduct of the French in the mean time was of quite another kind; for, while the squadron before mentioned was gone to Ireland, orders were given for equipping a fleet of sixty sail at Brest, which was to put to sea by the end of May: this they actually did, and, though they were forced by contrary winds to put back again to that road, yet on the 12th of June they put to sea in three squadrons, each squa-



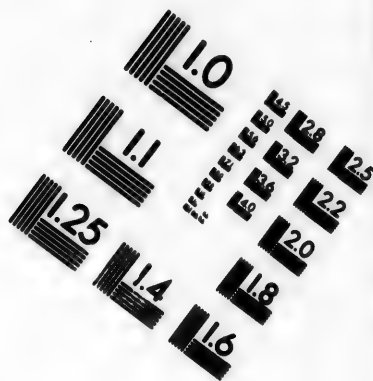
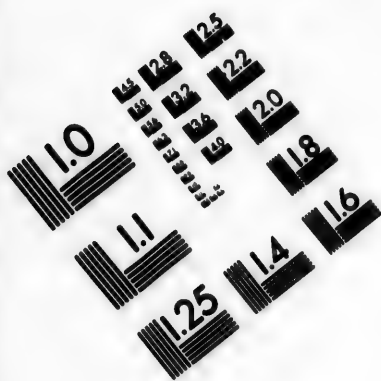
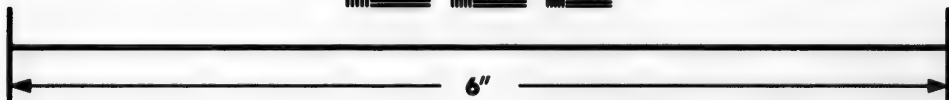
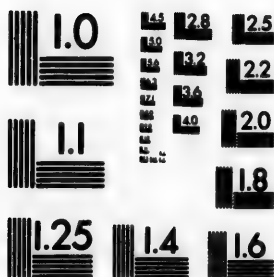


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dron being divided into three divisions. Of these the white and blue squadrons, commanded by count d'Estrees on board the *Le Grande*, a ship of eighty-six guns, formed the vanguard, consisting of twenty-six men of war. The main body was composed of the white squadron, commanded by the admiral count Tourville in the *Royal Sun*, a ship of one hundred guns; this squadron consisted likewise of twenty-six sail; the blue squadron made the rear guard, commanded by Mr. d'Amsfreville in the *Magnificent*, a ship of eighty guns, and in this squadron there were but twenty-five sail. In all there were seventy-eight men of war, twenty-two fire ships, and the whole fleet carried upwards of four thousand seven hundred pieces of cannon. On the 13th of June they steered for the English coast, and on the 20th found themselves off the Lizard. The next day the admiral took some English fishing boats, and, after having paid the people who were on board for their fish, he set them at liberty again; and these were the men that first brought advice of the arrival of the French fleet on our coast, while ours was lying idle, and scarce in a condition to put to sea, as bishop Burnet very justly observes.

Our admiral, the earl of Torrington, was at St. Helen's when he received this news, which must have surprised him very much, since he was so far from expecting any advice of this kind, that he had no scouts to the westward. He put to sea, however, with such ships as he had, and stood to the south-east on Midsummer day, leaving his orders, that all the English and Dutch ships which could have notice should follow him. In the evening he was joined by several ships, and the next morning he found himself within sight of the enemy. The French landed, and made some prisoners on shore, and by them sent a letter from Sir William Jennings, an officer in the navy, who had followed the fortunes of king James, and served now as third captain on board the admiral, promising pardon to all such captains, as would now adhere to that prince. The next day our admiral received another reinforcement of seven Dutch men of war under the command of admiral Evertzen; however, the fleets continued looking upon each other for several days. It is certain that the earl of Torrington did not think himself strong enough to venture an engagement, and in all probability the rest of the admirals were of the same opinion. Besides, he waited for Sir Cloudesley Shovel, rear admiral of the blue, who was to have joined him with the Plymouth squadron, and some other ships.

His whole strength consisted of about thirty-four men of war

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war of several sizes, and the three Dutch admirals had under their command twenty-two large ships. We need not wonder therefore, that, seeing himself out-numbered by above twenty sail, he was not willing to risk his own honour and the nation's safety upon such unequal terms. But the queen, who was then regent, having been informed that her father's adherents intended a general insurrection, and that, if the French fleet continued longer on the coast, this would certainly take effect, by advice of the privy council, sent him orders to fight at all events, in order to force the French fleet to withdraw. In obedience to this order, as soon as it was light, on the 30th of June the admiral threw out the signal for drawing into a line, and bore down upon the enemy, while they were under sail, by a wind with their heads to the northward.

The signal for battle was made about eight, when the French braced their head sails to the masts, in order to lie by. The action began about nine, when the Dutch squadron, which made the van of the united fleets, fell in with the van of the French, and put them into some disorder. About half an hour after, our blue squadron engaged their rear very warmly; but the red, commanded by the earl of Torrington in person, which made the centre of our fleet, could not come up till about ten; and this occasioned a great opening between them and the Dutch. The French, making use of this advantage, weathered, and of course surrounded the latter, who defended themselves very gallantly, though they suffered extremely from so unequal a dispute. The admiral, seeing their distress, endeavoured to relieve them; and while they dropt their anchors, he drove with his own ship and several others between them and the enemy, and in that situation anchored about five in the afternoon, when it grew calm; but discerning how much the Dutch had suffered, and how little probability there was of regaining any thing by renewing the action, he weighed about nine at night, and retired eastward with the tide of flood.

The next day it was resolved in a council of war, held in the afternoon, to preserve the fleet by retreating, and rather to destroy the disabled ships, if they should be pressed by the enemy, than to hazard another engagement by endeavouring to protect them. This resolution was executed with as much success as could be expected, which, however, was chiefly owing to want of experience in the French admirals; for, by not anchoring when the English did, they were driven to a great distance, and by continuing

nuing to chase in a line of battle, instead of leaving every ship at liberty to do her utmost, they could never recover what they lost by their first mistake. But, notwithstanding all this, they pressed on their pursuit as far as Rye-bay, and forcing one of our men of war of seventy guns, called the *Anne*, which had lost all her masts, on shore near Winchelsea, they sent in two ships to burn her, which the captain prevented by setting fire to her himself. The body of the French fleet stood in and out of the bays of Bourne and Pevensey in Suffex, while about fourteen of their ships anchored near the shore. Some of these attempted to burn a Dutch ship of sixty-four guns, which at low water lay dry; but her commander defended her so stoutly, that they were at length forced to desist, and the captain carried her safe into Holland.

We need not wonder, that a victory gained by the French fleet over the joint forces of the maritime powers should extremely elevate the writers of that nation, who are so apt to run out into extravagant flights of panegyric on much slighter occasions. The marquis de Quincy tells us that the Dutch fought with all imaginable bravery, and tacitly acknowledges, that they owed their misfortune to their being surrounded by French ships. He likewise owns, that such of the English ships as engaged fought very well, and that the admiral endeavoured to succour the Dutch, though he did it with much caution. But then, to enhance the victory as much as possible, he asserts, that the united fleets were at least equal in force to the navy of France, though they had fewer ships. In this, however, he is certainly mistaken, as I shall convince the reader by undeniable evidence. The Dutch squadron consisted of twenty-two large ships, and was by much the most formidable of the whole fleet, and yet that squadron carried but 1,360 guns; whereas the weakest of the French squadrons carried 1,526; and if we should suppose the united fleet to have consisted of ships of the like force with the Dutch, which it is certain they were not, it would then have carried 3,462 guns; whereas the French fleet, according to this writer's own account, carried 4,702. This is sufficient to show how little dependence can be had even on the accounts of the fairest French authors. Bishop Burnet very rightly observes, that, amongst the best judges, the count de Tourville was almost as much blamed for not making use of his victory, as the earl of Torrington was on account of his defeat.

After the engagement our fleet retreated towards the river Thames, and the earl of Torrington, going on shore, left

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left the command to Sir John Ashby, but first gave orders to captain Monck of the *Phoenix*, together with four other fifth rates, and four fire-ships, to anchor above the narrow of the middle grounds, and to appoint two of the frigates to ride, one at the Buoy of the Spits, the other at the lower end of the middle, and to take away the buoys, and immediately retreat, if the enemy approached; or, if they pressed yet farther on him, he was ordered in like manner to take away the buoys near him, and to do what service he could against them with the fire-ships; but still to retire, and make the proper signals in such cases. On the 8th the French fleet stood towards their own coast, but were seen upon the 27th off Berry-head, a little to the eastward of Dartmouth, and then, the wind taking them short, they put into Torbay. There they lay not long; for they were discovered the 29th near Plymouth, at which place the necessary preparations were made by platforms and other works, to give them a warm reception. The 5th of August they appeared again off of the Ram-head, in number between sixty and seventy, when, standing westward, they were no more seen in the channel this year.

As soon as the earl of Torrington came to town, he was examined before the council, where he justified himself with great presence of mind; he said, there were two things to be principally considered, the loss that had been sustained in the action, and the motives which had induced him to retreat. The first, he alledged, was owing to the ill-grounded contempt the English and Dutch officers had of the behaviour of the French at sea; and, as to the latter, he affirmed, that he had acted according to the rules of prudence, by which he had saved the fleet, and with much steadiness and spirit declared, that he had rather his reputation should suffer for a time, than his country undergo a loss, which she might never be able to repair. The council, however, thought proper to commit his lordship to the Tower; and that they might lessen the clamours of the crowd, and give some satisfaction to the Dutch, they directed a committee to repair to Sheerness, where they were to make a thorough inquiry into the real causes of this disaster.

The fleet remained now under the command of Sir Richard Haddock, vice-admiral Killegrew, and Sir John Ashby, who had orders to put it into the best condition possible; which they executed with great diligence, and by the latter end of August had forty-one ships of the line under their command, exclusive of the Dutch: yet, in spite of all their activity,

activity, it was very late in the year before they were able to undertake any effectual service; and by that time it was necessary to lay up the larger ships, the remainder being found sufficient for the embarkation of a body of troops under the command of the earl of Marlborough, whose winter expedition shall be taken notice of in its proper place. In the mean time let us return to the proceedings of Sir Cloudesley Shovel, with the squadron under his command, which we left, with that of vice-admiral Killebrew, in Plymouth-sound.

On the 21st of July rear-admiral Shovel received orders to proceed with the ships under his command for Kinsale, to intercept some French frigates that were said to be on that coast. Arriving at Waterford river, with intention to execute this commission, he met with the agreeable news of lieutenant-general Kirk's having made himself master of the town of Waterford, but was at the same time informed, that Duncannon-castle, which by its situation commanded the river, still held out, and that the lieutenant-general for want of cannon was not likely to take it. Upon this, considering the importance of the place, and that no use could be made of the port of Waterford, while it remained in the hands of the enemy, he sent advice to the lieutenant-general on the 27th of July, that he was ready to assist him by sending some frigates up the river, and landing all the men he could spare out of his squadron under the protection of their guns. Accordingly, the next day he sent in the *Experiment* and the *Greyhound*, two small ships, to batter the castle, and under their fire landed between six and seven hundred men, all the boats of the fleet being employed in this service. The castle all this time thundered upon them, though to little purpose; but, when general Bourke, who commanded there, saw the men landed, he thought fit to capitulate, and marched out at the head of two hundred and fifty men, with their arms and baggage, leaving to the English the fortress, which was furnished with forty-two pieces of cannon. A noble reward for one day's hard duty!

After this happy success the rear-admiral sailed for Limerick, where he was informed the French had a considerable number of ships; but finding soon after that the enemy was retired, and that his own squadron began to be in want of provisions and sea-stores, he came to a resolution of sailing to Plymouth, where he received a considerable reinforcement, with orders to proceed in quest of the enemy. But these orders, which came from the lords of the admiralty,

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ralty, were on the 18th of September countermanded by a fresh order from the king, directing him to detach ten ships into the Soundings for the protection of the trade, and to sail with the rest for the Downs; which he accordingly did.

After raising the siege of Limerick, king William returned into England, where, in a council held on the affairs of Ireland, which were still in a very precarious condition, many of the great cities, and most of the convenient ports being still held for king James, the earl of Marlborough proposed a plan for the immediate reduction of that island: he observed first, that our fleet was now at sea, and that of the French returned to Brest, in which situation, therefore, there was nothing to be feared in relation to descents. He farther remarked, that there were at least five thousand land-forces lying idle in England, which might be embarked on board the fleet even in this late season of the year, and land time enough to perform considerable service. The king readily accepted this offer, gave the command of the troops to the earl of Marlborough, and sent orders to the admirals to send the great ships about to Chatham, and to take on board the remainder of the fleet the forces ordered for this service.

The admirals hoisted their flag on board the Kent, a third rate, and, having embarked the troops with all imaginable expedition, arrived with them before the harbour of Corke on the 21st of September in the afternoon. The next day they attempted to enter, but were for some time prevented by the fire of a small battery of five guns, from which, however, the Irish were soon driven by two or three boats full of brave fellows, and then the whole fleet got into the harbour without any more interruption. On the 23d the forces were landed, and joined a body of between three and four thousand men under the command of the duke of Wirtembergh, who, by an ill-timed dispute about the command, had like to have ruined the whole expedition.

The city of Corke was very well fortified, and had in it a body of four thousand men: but the earl of Marlborough having observed that the place was commanded by an adjacent hill, he ordered a battery to be erected there on the 24th, which was performed with great expedition by five or six hundred seamen, carpenters, &c. and, after playing on the town for a few hours, made so considerable a breach, that on the 25th the generals resolved to attack it, in which they were assisted by ten pinnaces, manned by seamen well armed with hand-granadoes from the fleet. The besieged were

were so terrified at this, that it was easily discerned the dispute would not continue long; and indeed the Irish instantly capitulated.

But the very next day the fleet received orders to retire, which they did, leaving a squadron under the command of the duke of Grafton to assist the general: but that brave nobleman, having received a wound in the shoulder in the attack before-mentioned, died within a few days, when the command devolved upon captain Matthew Tenant, who was blown up in the Breda in Corke harbour; and then it fell to captain Crofts, who attended the earl of Marlborough till after the reduction of Kinfales, as well as Corke, which surrendered on the 15th of October, and then brought over the victorious general, who was presented to his master at Kensington on the 28th of that month, after having achieved, in a very few weeks more than all the foreign generals had been able to do since the beginning of the war in Ireland.

The fleet arrived in the Downs on the 8th of October, bringing over with them, by the earl of Marlborough's desire, the governor of Corke, and several persons of quality, who were made prisoners when that city was taken. There the admirals received orders to divide their fleet into small squadrons for several services, and leave only a strong squadron in the Downs under the command of Sir Cloudesley Shovel, who cruized the remaining part of the year in the Soundings, without any success remarkable enough to deserve notice, except that the Deptford and the Crown, two small ships, took a small French man of war called the Fripon, commanded by captain St. Maroa; she carried but eighteen guns and ten patereroes, and but a little before had engaged four Dutch privateers; whom she obliged to sheer off, though with the loss of thirty men killed and wounded: yet now, notwithstanding her force was so much weakened, she fought till her captain and lieutenants were desperately wounded, and her master killed; nor did she yield at last, till her main-mast was shot away by the Crown, and she boarded by the crew of that ship. When the rear-admiral had ended his cruize, he sent some of his ships to the coast of Ireland, others into the Soundings, and returned with the rest into the Downs; and thus ended the naval operations in Europe.

We next proceed to the West-Indies, where, within the compass of this year, there passed many things worthy of notice; but as the critical observation of time in this case would necessarily occasion a great deal of perplexity in the narration,

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narration, and force us to consider it in such a manner as must render it very obscure as well as unconnected, we shall therefore refer the history of the naval transactions there to that period in which they were completed, and so take in the whole together, uniting the circumstances of the several expeditions in as clear and succinct a manner as the nature of the subject will allow.

The care of the administration to repair all past errors in naval affairs, and to retrieve the honour of the maritime powers, appeared visible in the measures taken for sending a great fleet early to sea in the spring of the year 1691. In order to this, the week after the earl of Torrington was dismissed from his command, Edward Russel, Esq; was appointed admiral and commander in chief, and immediately received instructions to use the utmost expedition in drawing together the ships of which his fleet was to be composed; and a list of them, to the number of ninety-one, of which fifty-seven were of the line of battle, was annexed to his instructions. He executed these directions with the utmost skill and diligence, and by the 7th of May was ready to put to sea.

The blue squadron was commanded by Henry Killegrew, Esq; as admiral, Sir Ralph Delaval, vice-admiral, Sir Cloudesley Shovel, rear-admiral. Admiral Russel in the Britannia commanded the red squadron, having, for his vice and rear admirals, Sir John Ashby, and George Rooke, Esq; His orders were to proceed in the Soundings as soon as he should be joined by the Dutch, and he was likewise directed to take care to block up the port of Dunkirk, in order to prevent the French privateers from disturbing our trade. These directions, however, were but indifferently executed, which our writers attribute to the slowness of the Dutch in sending their ships to join the confederate fleet, which they had stipulated to do by the beginning of May, according to the proportion of five to eight, though bishop Burnet says of three to five, of equal rates and strength. Secretary Burchet, however, complains, that it was late in the month of May before there were twenty-eight Dutch ships in the fleet, whereas, according to the list published by the states-general in the same month, there ought to have been forty-six, and those too very large ships. This, however, is certain, that, notwithstanding all his skill and care, admiral Russel found his fleet but indifferently manned, and very scantily victualled; at the same time that he was so perplexed by his orders, and with the difficulties started upon every occasion by the Dutch admiral, who very probably

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was as much cramped by his, that a great part of the months of May and June were spent to very little purpose ; and, though the French fleet was not in such forwardness this year as it had been the last, yet it was at sea some time before ours had any intelligence of it.

If we may judge from appearances, one may safely say, that Lewis XIV. shewed a singular vanity in maintaining a prodigious naval force, to make all Europe see how soon, and how effectually, his councils had been able to create a maritime power. He had at this time to deal with the English, Spaniards, and Dutch ; and, as he was now in the zenith of his glory, he exhausted his treasures, in order to render himself master at sea. He appointed the count d'Estrees, vice-admiral of France, to command in the Mediterranean a fleet consisting of four large men of war, five frigates, twenty-six galleys, and three bomb-vessels : and, on the other hand, count Tourville was directed to assemble the grand fleet intended for the ocean : it consisted of three squadrons, the white and blue commanded by M. Chatteau Renault in the Royal Dauphin of one hundred guns ; the white squadron commanded by count Tourville in person, in the Royal Sun, the finest ship in France, which carried one hundred and six guns ; the blue squadron under the marquis d'Amfreville in the Superb of ninety-eight guns. This fleet, though very considerable, and excellently provided with every thing necessary, yet was inferior in force to that of the confederates ; and therefore count Tourville was instructed to avoid an engagement as much as possible, and to amuse the enemy, by keeping, as long as might be, in the channel. This great officer did all that could be expected from him, in order to put early to sea ; but, in spite of all his diligence and application, it was the middle of June before he left the port of Brest. But then it must be observed, that a squadron had been sent under the command of the marquis de Nesmonde to carry supplies of all sorts for the relief of king James's army in Ireland.

These were indeed great things, and what, all circumstances considered, one could scarce conceive the French able to perform ; yet they were far short of what it was believed in England at that time they were in a condition to undertake, and therefore so many accounts were sent to our admiral from court, of descents to be made here, forces to be convoyed there, and other strange projects, that he was hindered from pursuing either the orders that were first given him, or executing his own designs ; and, though he

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he discovered a good deal of uneasiness under this, yet he continued for many weeks to complain and obey.

The Smyrna fleet was expected home this spring, and, as the English and Dutch had a joint concern therein to the amount of upwards of four millions sterling, both nations were extremely apprehensive of its being attacked by the French, and therefore very precise orders were sent to admiral Russel to use his utmost care for its preservation; and this he performed with equal industry and success; for, having appointed single ships to cruise for them on every point of the compass, he crossed with the body of the fleet to Cape-Clear, on the Irish coast, and, being off Kinfale, received advice, that the Smyrna fleet was arrived safely in that harbour. Upon this, he sent orders to captain Aylmer to join him immediately with the Squadron under his command, resolving to conduct the Smyrna fleet as far as Scilly, and then, if they had a fair wind, to leave them to proceed up the channel, having first taken the necessary precaution of sending a frigate before to Plymouth, that he might be satisfied none of the enemy's ships were upon the coast.

Upon parting with this fleet, the admiral determined to lye off Ushant, and, if the French were gone from thence, to follow them to Belle-Isle; but, being afterwards of opinion that they lay in the sea purposely to avoid him, he altered his resolutions, and resolved to go into a more proper station in search of them; so that, parting with the Smyrna fleet off Scilly the 13th of July, he first bent his course towards the French coast, from whence he sent a letter to the secretary of state, desiring that it might be considered, whether the fleet, before its return, could be serviceable towards the reduction of Ireland; for that the provisions on board would last no longer than the latter end of August; and, after that month was expired, he thought it not safe for the great ships to be out of harbour, but he desired that supplies of provision might be ready at Plymouth, that so the want of them might not incapacitate the fleet to perform any necessary service.

Arriving in this station, Sir Cloudesley Shovel was sent to look into Brest, where he saw about forty sail coming out of that port, which proved to be a fleet of merchant-ships from Bretagne, escorted by three men of war. Sir Cloudesley, to decoy these ships into his hands, made use of an excellent stratagem: he knew the French had intelligence that a small Squadron of their fleet had made prizes of several English merchantmen; laying hold, therefore, of this piece of false news, he ordered part of his Squadron

dron to put out French colours, and the rest to take in theirs. By this method he thought to deceive the French, who might naturally suppose it that squadron with their prizes. This succeeded in part; but the enemy discovered the cheat before he was near enough to do much mischief.

Towards the latter end of the month of July, admiral Ruffel fell in with a convoy going to the French fleet with fresh provisions; some of these were taken, and from them he learnt that count Tourville had orders to avoid fighting, which he very punctually obeyed, keeping scouts at a considerable distance on all points of the compass by which he could be approached, and these being chased by ours, they immediately ran, making signals to others that lay within them; so that it was impossible to come up with the body of their fleet, though that of the English and Dutch sailed in such a posture, that the scouts on each wing, as well as those a-head and a-stern, could in clear weather see twenty leagues round.

The admiral, being sensible of the dangers that might attend this situation, wrote home for fresh orders, which he received, but found them so perplexed, that, having intelligence of the French fleet being gone into Brest, he, in the beginning of August, pursuant to the resolution of a council of war, returned to Torbay, from whence he wrote up to court to have his last orders explained. In return he was directed to put to sea again, which he did; and notwithstanding his frequent representations of the inconvenience of having such large ships exposed to the rough weather, which usually happens about the equinox, he was obliged to continue in the Soundings to the 2d of September, when he met with such a violent storm, that, after doing all that could be done for the preservation of the fleet, he was constrained to bear up for so dangerous a port as Plymouth; and in doing this, through the violence of the wind, and the haziness of the weather, the ships were so scattered, that the greatest part of them were not seen when the admiral himself came to an anchor in the Sound; but, when it grew somewhat clearer, one of the second rates (which proved to be the Coronation) was discovered at anchor off Ram-head, without any thing standing but the ensign staff, and soon after she foundered, her commander captain Shelton, together with her company, except a very inconsiderable number, being lost. Many of the biggest ships were not able to weather the eastermost point of land at the entrance into Ply-

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Plymouth sound, and therefore were constrained to take sanctuary there, in that unavoidable confusion, which a lee shore, thick weather, and a very hard gale of wind, will always occasion, inasmuch that the *Harwich*, a third rate, ran on ashore, and bulged near Mount Edgcombe-house, and the *Royal Oak* and *Northumberland* tailed on the ground, though afterwards they were luckily got off. A great Dutch ship was seen at anchor above five leagues in the offing, with all her masts gone; and several there were that very narrowly escaped the danger of the *Edystone*.

The admiral immediately gave orders for refitting such of the ships as had been damaged in the storm; and left Sir *Cloudefley Shovel* at Plymouth to see it performed, directing him, as soon as they were in a condition to sail, to send a squadron of ten sail into the Soundings for the security of the homeward bound trade, himself, with the rest of the fleet, steering for Spithead, where soon after he received orders to send the largest ships about to Chatham, as the Dutch admiral did to return home, with the first and second rates under his command. Admiral *Russel* was likewise directed to form a squadron of thirty sail of English and Dutch ships to be sent to the coast of Ireland, and he accordingly appointed vice admiral *Delaval* for this command, who four times attempted to execute his orders, and was as often forced back by contrary winds, which, however, proved of no detriment to the service, since the intelligence received of the French sending a fleet to Limerick, proved false. Thus ended the naval operations of the year 1691, very little to the profit, honour, or satisfaction of the nation.

In the spring of the year 1692, a little before the king went to Holland, he began to communicate his intentions, as to the employment of the fleet, to admiral *Russel*, who had been again appointed admiral and commander in chief by commission, dated December the 3d, 1691. At this time, however, he was very far from standing in high favour. He had expostulated freely with his majesty on the disgrace of the earl of *Marlborough*, and lived on no extraordinary terms with the new secretary lord *Nottingham*; but his character as an officer, and his known steadiness in revolution principles, supported him, and the king resolved to confide the fleet to his care almost whether the admiral would or not.

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The principal thing that seems to have been intended was, convincing not France alone, but also all Europe, that the maritime powers were still lords of the sea, by fitting out early such a fleet as should keep their enemies in awe, while a descent was made in Normandy. Something of this kind king William intimated in his speech to the parliament, and was certainly expected both by this nation and the Dutch. When, therefore, the king left England in the beginning of March, his instructions to admiral Russel were, to use all imaginable diligence in getting the fleet out to sea; and at the same time he was promised, that his majesty would not fail to quicken the Dutch.

As soon as Lewis XIV. perceived, either through unavoidable misfortunes, or the intrigues of his own ministers, that it was a thing impossible to support the war in Ireland any longer to advantage, he came to a resolution of employing the forces, that were still left king James, to serve his purpose another way. With this view he concerted, with the malecontents in England, an invasion on the coast of Suffex; and though for this design it was necessary to draw together a great number of transports, as well as a very considerable body of forces, yet he had both in readiness, before it was so much as suspected here. The land army consisted of fourteen battalions of English and Irish troops, and about nine thousand French, commanded by marshal de Belfondes; so that in all there could not be less than twenty thousand men. The fleet of transports consisted of three hundred sail, and was well provided with every thing necessary for the invasion. In short, nothing was wanting to the execution of this design, in the beginning of April, but the arrival of count d'Estree's squadron of twelve men of war, which was to escort the embarkation, while the count de Tourville cruized in the channel with the grand fleet, which was also ready to put to sea, but was detained by contrary winds. Things being in this situation, king James sent over colonel Parker, and some other agents of his, to give his friends intelligence of his motions; and some of these people, in hopes of reward, gave the first clear account of the whole design to our government at home; upon which, order after order was sent to admiral Russel to hasten out to sea, in whatever condition the fleet might be at this time.

There were at this very critical juncture two considerable squadrons at sea; one under the command of Sir Ralph

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VOL. IV.

Ralph Delaval, which was sent to bring home a fleet of merchantmen from the Mediterranean, the other under admiral Carter, near the French coast. It was apprehended, that the French would have endeavoured to intercept the former, and therefore, on the last of February, orders were sent by the Groin packet-boat to vice admiral Delaval, to avoid coming near cape St. Vincent, but rather to sail to Dingle bay, the mouth of the Shannon, or some other port thereabouts. But, for fear these orders might not reach him soon enough at Cadiz, an advice boat was ordered to cruize for him off Cape-Clear, with instructions to put into Corke or Kinfale. However, both these orders missed him, and he was so fortunate as to arrive in the beginning of March safe in the Downs.

As for rear admiral Carter, he was ordered to continue cruizing with his squadron of eighteen sail, as near the French coast as it was possible, in order to be the better and more certainly informed of what they were doing. His majesty king William, as soon as he arrived in Holland, took care to hasten the naval preparations with unusual diligence; so that the fleet was ready to put to sea much sooner than had been expected, or at least much sooner than it had done the year before, and was also in a much better condition. As for our admiral, he went on board in the beginning of May; and, observing how great advantage the French might reap by the division of such considerable squadrons from our fleet, his first care was to write to court on this subject, and to desire, that a certain place might be fixed for their conjunction, and that timely notice be given to all persons concerned. In return to this, he had orders sent him to cruize between cape la Hogue and the Isle of Wight, till the squadrons should join with him, though he had proposed the junction should be made off Beachy-head. However, he obeyed his orders as soon as he received them, and plyed down through the sands with a very scanty wind, contrary to the opinion of many of his officers, and all the pilots, who were against hazarding so great a fleet in so dangerous an attempt; and yet to this bold stroke of the admiral, which was his own, was owing all his following success.

On the 8th the fleet came safe off Rye, and that night the admiral sent to the Dutch admiral to weigh and make sail after him, that no time might be lost; and he also

sent a squadron of small ships to look for Sir Ralph Delaval, being in great pain till the whole confederate fleet was in a body. On the 11th of May he sailed from Ryebay for St. Helen's, where in two days time he was joined by Sir Ralph Delaval, and rear admiral Carter, with their squadrons. While they lay there, the admiral received a letter from the earl of Nottingham, as secretary of state, written by queen Mary's direction, wherein he was informed, that a scandalous report was spread, as if some of the officers of their majesties fleet were disaffected, or not hearty in their service; and that her majesty had thereupon been pressed to the discharge of many of them from their employments: but her majesty charged the admiral to acquaint his officers, that she was satisfied this report was raised by the enemies of the government, and that she reposed so entire a confidence in their fidelity, that she had resolved not to displace so much as one of them. Upon this the flag officers and captains drew up a very dutiful and loyal address, dated from on board the Britannia at St. Helen's, May the 15th, 1692, which was the same day transmitted to court, and on the next presented by the lords of the admiralty to her majesty, who was pleased to make this wise and gracious answer, which was published that night in the Gazette: "I always had this opinion of the commanders, but I am glad this is come to satisfy others."

When all the ships, English and Dutch, were come together, the admiral proposed, that a small detachment of six or eight frigates might be sent to hover about the coast of Normandy; that at the same time the forces intended for a descent should embark, and be landed at St. Maloes, and the grand fleet lie westward of that place, in order to protect them from the enemy. This proposition being in part approved, he detached six light ships to gain intelligence; and, it being left to him to proceed as a council of war should advise, he on the 18th of May sailed for the coast of France. The next day, about three in the morning, the scouts, westward of the fleet, fired swivel guns, and, being in a short time in fight, made the signal of discovering the enemy. Immediately orders were given for drawing into a line of battle, and the signal was made for the rear of the fleet to tack, in order to engage the sooner, if the French had stood to the northward. A little after four, the sun dispersing the fog, the enemy were seen standing to the southward. The admiral upon this caused the signal for the rear to tack to be taken in, and bore

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bore away with his ship so far to leeward, as that each ship in the fleet might fetch his wake, and then be brought to, and lay by, with his fore-top-sail to the mast, that so others might have the better opportunity of placing themselves according to the manner formerly directed on such an occasion.

The confederate fleet was in good order by eight, having the Dutch squadron in the van, the red in the centre, and the blue in the rear. About ten the French fleet bore down upon them with great resolution. About half an hour after eleven count Tourville in the Royal Sun, brought to, and began the action with admiral Russel, being within three quarters musket-shot. He plyed his guns very warmly till one, but then began to tow off in great disorder, his rigging, sails, and top-sail yards being very much wounded. About two the wind shifted; so that five of the enemy's blue squadron posted themselves, three ahead, and two a-stern of their admiral, and fired very briskly till after three. The admiral and his two seconds, Mr. Churchill and Mr. Aylmer, had all these ships to deal with. There was so thick a fog about four, that the enemy could not be seen; and, as soon as it was cleared up, the French admiral was discovered towing away northward; upon which the admiral followed him, and made the signal for chasing.

While this passed between the admirals, Sir Cloudesley Shovel was got to the windward of count Tourville's squadron, and engaged them; but, the fog growing darker than before, they were forced to anchor: and about this time it was that captain Hastings, in the Sandwich, was killed, driving through those ships of the enemy, by reason his anchors were not clear. The weather clearing up a little, the French followed their flying admiral, and the English chased the best they could. About eight in the evening it grew foggy again, and part of the English blue squadron, having fallen in with the enemy, engaged about half an hour, till they, having lost four ships, bore away for Conquet-Road. In this short action rear admiral Carter was killed, whose last words effectually confuted the base reports spread to blemish his reputation; for, finding himself mortally wounded, he recommended to captain Wright, who commanded his ship, to fight her as long as she could swim.

The 20th of May proved so foggy, that it was eight o'clock before the Dutch discovered the enemy; and then

the whole fleet began to chase, the French crowding away westward. About four in the afternoon both fleets anchored; about ten they weighed again, and about twelve admiral Russel's fore-top-mast came by the board.

On the 22d, about seven in the morning, the English fleet continued the chase with all the success they could desire: about eleven the French admiral ran ashore, and cut away her masts; upon this her two seconds plyed up to her, and other ships began to hover about them; upon which the admiral sent Sir Ralph Delaval, who was in the rear, to keep with him a strength sufficient to destroy those ships, and to send the rest, that were under his command, to join the body of the fleet. In the evening a great number of the enemy's ships were seen going into La Hogue. On the 23d the admiral sent in Sir George Rooke, with several men of war, fire ships, and all the boats of the fleet, to destroy these ships in the bay. On their entering, it was perceived, that there were thirteen sail; but they were got up so high, that none but the small frigates could do any service. Sir George, however, was resolved to execute his orders; and therefore, having manned his boats, he went in person to encourage the attempt, burnt six of them that night, and the other seven the next morning, together with a great number of transport ships, and other vessels laden with ammunition. One would think this was a remarkable piece of service: indeed it was by much the greatest that happened during the whole affair; for it was performed under a prodigious fire from the enemy's battery on shore, and within sight of the Irish camp, and with the loss only of ten men: yet bishop Burnet, by an odd stroke, either of ill humour, or great negligence, has thought fit to blame Sir George, as if he had not been much inclined to fight.

Sir John Ashby, with his own squadron and some Dutch ships, pursued the rest of the French fleet, till they ran through the race of Alderney, among such rocks and shoals as our pilots were absolutely against following them; for which that admiral has been also censured, though perhaps without cause, since some of the ablest seamen in England were of opinion, that there could not be a more desperate undertaking than the flight of the French ships though that passage. But, though despair might justify them, yet it does not appear to me an argument, that Sir John Ashby ought to have followed them.

It is very remarkable, that, though the confederate fleet was near double to that of the French, yet scarce half of it

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it could engage, which was owing to their original disposition, (by which, as the reader may remember, the blue squadron, of which Sir George Rooke was vice admiral, was directed to tack northward, and to weather), not at all to any deficiency in that admiral, as bishop Burnet alleges; yet the defeat was one of the most signal that ever happened at sea. If, indeed, Sir John Ashby could have reached those that took shelter in St. Maloes, it had in a good measure put an end to the French power at sea. As it was, we must acknowledge it a most glorious victory, and that we ought to pay a just tribute of praise to the memories of all the brave men who achieved it.

We find this affair, notwithstanding all the ruinous consequences that attended it, treated in such a style by the French writers, as to make it appear rather a victory than a defeat; and all this founded on the single circumstance of their attacking the English fleet. In order to explain that, we must observe, that count Tourville found himself obliged to take this step, in obedience to his orders, which were so express, that they did not leave any room for him to exercise his judgment. He called a council of war indeed, the night before the engagement, wherein most of the officers gave their opinions, that, considering the superiority of the confederate fleet, and the situation themselves were in, it was most prudent to avoid fighting. Upon this, after declaring his own sentiments to be the same with theirs, he pronounced the king's orders, which appeared to be so precise for fighting the English, whether strong or weak, that it was unanimously resolved to obey them. Several reasons have been assigned for the French king's giving such orders.

After a particular account of the first day's engagement, the marquis de Quincy proceeds thus: "As to the advantage gained in this action, it must be allowed us, that count Tourville did not lose so much as a ship, nor had he any that were disabled; while, on the other hand, the enemy lost two, one sunk, and the other disabled. The rest of their ships were as ill treated as his, besides their spending abundance of fire ships without any effect. Thus, in spite of the prodigious inequality of the fleets, the success was at least equal in the first day's engagement: it is true, it happened otherwise in the succeeding days, in which, however, there fell out nothing that ought to tarnish the reputation of France at sea, since, while there remained any room for courage
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“ to exert itself, they not only acted gallantly in their own defence, but made them respected by their enemies. What afterwards followed was the effect of unforeseen accidents and inevitable misfortunes.”

Yet, after this fine flourish, the marquis fairly confesses, the French flags ran for it, and that their other ships did the best they could to follow them; but partly through the want of safe ports on their coasts, and partly through the vigorous pursuit of the English, they were burnt and destroyed in the manner before-related. Neither doth this writer, or any other of the French historians, pretend to diminish their own loss, or to say that our admirals did not do their duty. On the contrary they ascribe the safe retreat of part of their ships into the road of St. Maloes to their lucky passage through that dangerous Streight which I have before mentioned.

When admiral Russel was satisfied, that the grand fleet could not do any farther service against the French, he resolved to return to St. Helen's, as well to refit the vessels that were damaged in the late action, as to obtain a supply of provisions and ammunition. This design he executed very happily, since he had scarce left the French coast, before the weather became so tempestuous, that his heavy ships must have suffered exceedingly, and such as had lost their masts would probably have perished. Yet this measure, so prudent in itself, and so fortunate in its event, has been censured, as if the admiral had shewn too great eagerness to be at home, and too little care to prosecute his victory.

However, before he took this step, he left Sir John Ashby with twelve English ships, and three fire ships, in conjunction with a Dutch squadron of like force, commanded by vice admiral Callemberg, with orders to sail for Havre de Grace, and to endeavour the destruction of so many of the French fleet as had taken shelter there; which service, indeed, they did not perform, the enemy's situation, and the stormy weather, rendering it altogether impracticable. So that to blame the admiral for not exposing the fleet, when it was impossible for him to have done any thing, is to shew a disposition of finding fault at the nation's safety, since succeeding commanders are not like to use their judgments freely, when they find their predecessors suffer in reputation for doing what prudence, and regard to the safety of the fleet, directed. The principal reason, which influenced admiral Russel on this occasion, was his desire to make the most of his victory, by immediately taking on board the troops intended for a descent, and carrying them

them over France.

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them over, with all possible expedition, to the coast of France.

It is not easy to give any account of this descent, since neither our public historians, nor the writers of public memoirs, have been able to leave us any certain scheme of this design farther than that it was to be a descent on the French coast, in order to alarm and distract the nation. Thus much is certain, that both we and the Dutch seemed to have very great confidence in this expedition, which was provided for at a vast expence, in order to which a promotion of officers was made on purpose. At first several regiments of horse were intended to have been sent; but at last these were reduced to fifty horse, and two hundred dragoons. It is evident enough from this conduct, that admiral Russel was not in the secret of this scheme, if indeed there was any such secret, but knew in general only, that these troops were designed to land in France, and therefore he thought this the most proper opportunity for executing the project, be it what it would.

This was his great motive for returning to the English coast; and, to be sure, he acted therein with great judgment and prudence. In his passage, however, he met with very rough weather, and, on his arrival, with a very great disappointment; for instead of finding the troops ready to embark, and himself furnished with orders and instructions for the execution of the enterprize, he was informed by letters from the secretary of state, that no certain resolution was as yet taken in what service to employ them, but that this was left to be settled by a general council of land and sea-officers, when the fleet and the transports should be joined. The plain source of all this confusion was, that the ministers of state were not disposed to take upon themselves the direction of an affair, which they were apprehensive would miscarry, but were willing to put it upon the land and sea officers, that they alone might remain accountable for whatever happened.

At last, very late in the month of July, the transports, with the forces on board, joined the fleet; and on the 28th of the same month, a council of war was held on board the Breda, where the schemes or rather hints of the ministry were seriously considered, and, upon the whole, resolved to be impracticable. The admiral, however, sent Sir John Ashby with a stout squadron to endeavour, if possible, to intercept the French fleet, which was every day expected to sail from St. Maloe's to Brest; and, as soon as this was done, the admiral, with the rest of the fleet and transports, sailed for La Hogue.

Secretary

Secretary Burchet seems to say, that in his passage he received orders from the queen to return, and that, in obedience to these orders, he came back in a few days to St. Helen's. Yet there is something very improbable in this, if we consider, that as soon as an express, detached by the duke of Leinster, arrived at Whitehall with this news, the queen sent down to the fleet the marquis of Caermarthen then lord-president of the council, the earl of Devonshire lord-steward, the earl of Dorset lord-chamberlain, the earls of Nottingham and Rochester, and the lords Sidney and Cornwallis, to know the reason of their return, and to take proper measures for their putting to sea again immediately. These lords on their arrival found all the troops except two regiments, on board, and the fleet wind-bound. Every body then expected that the troops would reimbarke, and at last they did so; but, instead of proceeding to France, they sailed under the escort of a squadron of men of war, part to Ostend, and part to Newport. There were two hundred and forty transport-ships, six or seven thousand men, a prodigious quantity of ammunition of all sorts, and whatever seemed requisite for executing a great design, though so little came of it.

One cannot wonder, that, on so flagrant a miscarriage as this, the mouths of all the world were opened. The English, who are not very famous for their patience on such occasions, made no difficulty of saying, that the nation was plundered and abused, and that, after immense sums were drawn out of the people's pockets by the most grievous and burdensome taxes, they were idly squandered away with chimerical projects. The Dutch scrupled not to exclaim against the treachery of the king's counsellors, and to affirm that every thing, that was transacted at London, was so speedily betrayed to the French court, that it was in vain to hope any success from designs concerted there. The French, according to their usual manner, exulted strangely on their deliverance, and attributed to the wisdom and power of Lewis XIV. what was the pure effect of cross accidents and party resentments.

After sending these troops into Flanders, the great ships were ordered about to Chatham, and the fleet divided into squadrons, as was judged most convenient for the service: and thus ended the public transactions of this year.

This circumstance of our losing so many ships, after so great a victory at sea, excited much clamour, especially among the merchants, though the reasons assigned for it by the board of admiralty were very plausible at least, if not satisfactory.

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satisfactory. They said, that the loss the French sustained so early in the year was the occasion of their seamen being dismissed the king's service, and suffered to go on board privateers, which rendered them more numerous, and of greater force than ever, while, on the other hand, our keeping so great a fleet so long at sea rendered it impossible for the admiralty to furnish the merchants with proper convoys, at the same time that so large a number of men, as were employed on board the navy, forced our commanders of merchant-ships to proceed in their respective voyages worse manned than usual.

The king opened the sessions of parliament on the 4th of November, in which he took notice both of their great success, and great disappointments at sea, which gave occasion to the subsequent inquiries. On the 11th the house of commons thanked admiral Russel, in very strong terms, for his courage and conduct in the affair of La Hogue; but this did not prevent a warm debate on account of the opportunities that were said to be lost after that signal victory. The admiral furnished the house with all the letters, papers, and instructions that were necessary for their information, and entered into a large account of the whole affair. Then Sir John Ashby was examined as to his not executing the orders that were given him to destroy the French ships which got into St. Maloe's. Sir John cleared himself so handsomely, and set the whole matter in so fair a light, that the speaker, by order of the house, took notice of his ingenuous behaviour at the bar, which gave such satisfaction, that he was dismissed from farther attendance.

The warmth the parliament had expressed in providing for the sea-service, joined to the clamour that had been raised on the defeat of the late expedition, obliged the king to take very early care of whatever related to the affairs of the navy, that nothing might hinder the sending a stout fleet to sea in the beginning of the spring. In the month of January, therefore, his majesty was pleased to make a great change in the command of the fleet, in which he was supposed to follow chiefly the advice of the earl of Nottingham. Instead of appointing an admiral and commander in chief, he granted a commission to Henry Killegrew, Esq; Sir Ralph Delaval, and Sir Cloudesley Shovel, to execute that office. Bishop Burnet says, that the two first were thought to be so much in king James's interest, that it was believed the king was putting the fleet into the hands of such as would betray him; for, though no exception lay against Shovel, yet he was but one or two. Whether the bishop's

bishop's conjecture was well grounded or not, I cannot pretend to determine; but the event very fully proved, that such a joint commission was a very bad expedient. Soon after his majesty made George Rooke, Esq; vice-admiral of the red, and Matthew Aylmer, Esq; rear-admiral of that squadron, John lord Berkley, vice-admiral, and David Mitchell, Esq; rear-admiral of the blue; and these promotions were declared on the 8th of February following.

To give still a higher proof of the king's concern for, and attention to this necessary part of the public service, his majesty soon after went down to Portsmouth, as well to take a view of the state of the place and its fortifications, as to examine in person into the condition of that part of the fleet which was then there. On this occasion his majesty went on board the ship where vice-admiral Rooke had hoisted his flag, and conferred the honour of knighthood upon the admiral; after which he returned to London very well satisfied as to the condition of the fleet at Spithead. On the 12th of April the right honourable Anthony, lord-viscount Falkland, Sir John Lowther of Whitehaven, baronet, Henry Priestman, Esq; Robert Austen, Esq; Sir Ralph Delaval, knight, were appointed commissioners of the admiralty.

The war in Flanders requiring his majesty's presence early in the spring, the admirals were instructed to make all possible dispatch in getting out the fleet to sea, to endeavour, if possible, to block up the enemy in their ports, especially in Brest, which was thought very practicable, and to take all possible care of the merchants. In order to comply with the first part of their charge, they began to take half the seamen out of privateers; but this, notwithstanding the pressing occasions of the public, and the great scarcity of men, was thought so heavy a grievance, and was besides so visible a favour to the enemy, that it was dropped. Then five regiments of foot were put on board, with a view to the debarkment at Brest, which was a scheme of some of the land-admirals, and was always thought, by the ablest of our seamen, a very dangerous, and at the same time a very impracticable project. Provisions running scarce, a mess was increased from four to six men; and yet, in spite of all these contrivances, they were not able to form a line of battle at St. Helen's till the 7th of May, 1693, which lost them the opportunity of blocking up either of the French squadrons.

When the English and Dutch fleets joined, they made a formidable appearance, and every body expected something very

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very considerable would be performed. It appeared, however, but too soon, that things were in their old condition; that, the admirals had not proper orders to warrant their doing any thing of moment, and were too much divided in their opinions, to undertake any thing of themselves. In short, the only thing they could resolve on was, that Sir George Rooke should command the squadron appointed to convoy the Mediterranean fleet, and that, in case they had no exact intelligence of the French squadrons, the fleet should accompany Sir George into a certain latitude.

If this design had been executed as soon as it was formed and talked of it had been honourable for the nation, and happy for the merchants; but the admirals were so timorous and diffident of their own power, that it was the beginning of June before they sailed; and even then they had no intelligence of the enemy's motions, but took their measures at random: a circumstance not rashly to be asserted, and yet too important to be concealed, when supported by undeniable evidences:

The French, on the other hand, acted with greater prudence, in the disposition of their naval strength this year, than they had done during the continuance of the war. In order to repair the mighty loss he had sustained at La Hogue, the French king bought several large ships, and turned them into men of war; caused such as wanted repair to be put, during the winter, into a condition to go to sea; and, that they might not be detained for want of men, he suspended in a manner the whole trade of France for a year, by forbidding any ships to go to sea till his squadrons were manned: lastly, to raise the spirits of the seamen, as well as to encourage such officers as had done their duty in the last unlucky engagement, he made a grand naval promotion, which had precisely the effect he expected from it, and excited such a spirit of diligence and emulation, as is easier to be conceived than described. The reader will be convinced of the truth of this, when he is informed, that the French sailed from the ocean for the Mediterranean in the middle of the month of May, in three squadrons, consisting all together of seventy-one ships of war, besides tenders, bomb-vessels, and fire-ships; so that they were actually on the coast of Portugal, before our Smyrna fleet sailed.

The English fleet left Sir George Rooke with the Streight's squadron on the 6th of June in the evening, about fifty leagues W. S. W. off Ushant, and returned to take up the cruizers, having all this time had no intelligence of the enemy. The lords of the admiralty at home, however, had

had an account directly from Portugal of M. Tourville's coming into Lagos-bay, between Cape St. Vincent and Faro, with no less than one hundred and fourteen sail, great and small. This exceedingly alarmed the government, and advice was instantly dispatched to the fleet, which consisted now of sixty-nine ships of the line of battle.

On the 23d of June a council of war was held at Torbay, in which it was resolved to bear away for Lisbon directly, in case they could be properly victualled; but, to prevent all danger, orders were immediately dispatched to Sir George Rooke, of which we shall have occasion to speak hereafter. If this resolution had been pursued, and the fleet had actually sailed for Lisbon, something might have been done worthy of the English nation. But upon the 1st of July another council of war was held, in which, though the queen's orders were produced for their executing what themselves had before proposed, yet the flags came to a new resolution, which was to submit it to her majesty, whether, if the French squadrons were joined, and should sail north-about, the coast of England might not be exposed to some insult during their absence.

It has been before observed, that the grand fleet quitted Sir George Rooke on the 6th of June, 1693, without having at that time any certain intelligence either of the force of the French squadrons, or where they were sailed; which put that admiral under great difficulties, and therefore we cannot wonder, that he expressed some concern at the great risk the numerous fleet of merchantmen, under his convoy, was like to run. It is true, his squadron was very strong, consisting of no less than twenty-three men of war, and he had under him two flag-officers of great courage and experience, *viz.* the Dutch vice-admiral Vandergoes and rear-admiral Hopson. But then the merchantmen under his care were near four hundred, and these not only English and Dutch, but Danes, Swedes, Hamburgers, Flemings, &c. so that our reputation as a maritime power was in a manner staked for their safety.

When he left the fleet, he had a very fair and strong gale of wind, which carried him at such a rate as prevented any of the advice-boats, sent with those fresh instructions we mentioned, from coming up with him; and he was so unlucky too as not to meet with any ships at sea that could give him notice of marshal Tourville's fleet being in that part of the world. In this situation of things he pursued, as was his duty, his original instructions; and having left by

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by the way the vessels bound for Bilboa, Lisbon, St Ubes, and other places, he continued his course for the Streights.

On the 15th of June he ordered the Lark, a sixth rate man of war, and a prime sailer, to stretch a-head of his scouts in Lagos-bay, to get what intelligence they could of the enemy; but through some oversight in the captain, this was not properly executed. The next day the scouts discovered two of the enemy's ships, and engaged them in the afternoon, till, perceiving eight or ten sail under the caye, they thought fit to quit the Frenchmen, to inform the admiral of what they had seen. Upon this a council of war was called, in which the admiral's opinion, for lying by till the enemy's strength could be known, was overruled.

On the 17th, about break of day, ten sail of French men of war were discovered, with some small ships, which were chased by part of the English Squadron, and a fire-ship taken, the crew of which positively asserted, that the whole squadron, though there were three flags amongst them, consisted of no more than fifteen ships of the line. But the falsity of this assertion was discovered, and Sir George Rooke easily counted eighty sail of men of war. Sixteen of these (amongst which were three flags) plied up to the English squadron, while the vice-admiral of the white stood off to sea, that he might fall in among the merchant-ships.

The Dutch vice-admiral about three o'clock sent a message to Sir George, that being now sensible of the strength of the French fleet, which he doubted before, as well as of their design, he thought it absolutely necessary to avoid fighting, as it could only tend to their absolute ruin. At this time they were within four miles of the enemy, and it was the sentiment of Sir George himself, that they were too far advanced to think of retreating; and therefore, before he received this message, he was resolved to push for it; but considering afterwards, that, if the Dutch admiral had formed a right judgment, and both the squadron and the fleet under their convoy should suffer greatly by this measure, the blame would fall entirely on himself, he brought to, and stood off with an easy sail, that the Dutch and the heavy ships might work up to the windward. He, at the same time, sent orders to the small ships that were near the land, and therefore not likely to keep up with the fleet, to use their utmost endeavours in the night to put into the neighbouring ports of Faro, St. Lucar, or Cadiz. This

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was all that was in the power of the admiral to do, and it is certain, that these orders were extremely well calculated for lessening, as much as possible, the misfortune; and it shewed great presence of mind in Sir George Rooke, to provide so wisely for the most distant part of the fleet, when himself and those about him were in such imminent danger.

The admiral and vice-admiral of the blue, with about ten sail of the enemy's fleet, fetched up the English Squadron very fast, so that about six in the evening they came up with two Dutch men of war, and some merchant-ships of that nation. The men of war were commanded by the captains Schrijver and Vande-Poel, who finding themselves under the wind, and therefore in no probability of escaping, tacked in for the shore, and thereby drew the enemy after them, which saved the rest of the fleet. The Dutch captains made a most gallant and desperate defence, but were at last overpowered by numbers, and taken.

The admiral stood off all night, having a fresh gale at N. N. W. and the next morning found fifty-four ships about him, among which were only two Dutch, and one Hambugher. Five sail of the enemy's ships appeared to the leeward, and two to the windward, which last dogged him all day. On the nineteenth Sir George Rooke sent for the officers of the men of war, and merchant-ships, on board, in order to get the best account he could of the state they were in, and to concert the most proper measures for securing the remainder. In this council, most of the officers present were for going either to Lisbon, or bearing away for Ireland. The admiral, however, considering that they had not water enough on board, to enable them to carry the last-mentioned scheme into execution, and having also some hopes of meeting with part of his scattered fleet at the Madeiras, he determined to sail thither; which he accordingly performed.

If the enemy, in executing this design of theirs, had shewed the same dexterity as in contriving, it is not easy to conceive how any part of the fleet of merchant-men could have been saved. But whether their admirals made a wrong disposition, or whether their orders were but indifferently obeyed, certain it is, that they did not strike near so heavy a blow as they might have done. Yet the mischief they did was very great, and severely felt both by the English and Dutch trade. According to some accounts, besides four of the largest Smyrna ships, which M. Coetlogon burnt or sunk at Gibraltar, and seven which he took, M. de Tourville and the

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the count d'Estrees took two Dutch men of war, burnt a rich pinnace, and an English man of war; took twenty-nine merchant-men, and destroyed about fifty more. The value of the cargoes, and the men of war together, might amount to one million sterling, or thereabouts; whereas the French, if they had taken the whole fleet, they must have been gainers of upwards of four millions. As it was, the loss fell very heavy upon us, without much enriching them.

In order, however, to hide these mistakes from the eyes of the people of France, and to magnify the advantage gained to the utmost, a pompous account was printed at Toulon, full of very extraordinary circumstances, and swelling the loss of the English and Dutch to the amount of sixty millions of livres; that is, to about three times as much as it really was. The modesty and impartiality of the Dutch accounts of this unfortunate affair, deserve particular notice. They state the loss very near as high as the best French writers; but at the same time they confess it had been much greater, but for the prudence of Sir George Rooke, on whose conduct they bestow such praises, as a complete victory would scarce have extorted from his countrymen. I am, however, inclined to think he deserved them; because even bishop Burnet, who was no great friend to that admiral, does not pretend to find out one wrong step in this whole proceeding.

But the consequences of this engagement were no less fatal than the action itself; for M. Tourville, to make amends for letting so great a part of the English fleet escape, resolved to do his utmost to take or destroy such ships as had retired into the Spanish ports. With this view, he came on the twentieth of July before Malaga, and sent a message to the governor, that he had no design to injure the town, unless they attempted to defend the English and Dutch ships; in which case he would bombard it. The governor answered, he had the king of Spain's orders to protect them, and therefore, as his duty required, he would do it to the utmost of his power. There were four Dutch ships and one English in the mole, which he attacked with great fury. The men on board the ships made a long and gallant defence, especially the Union frigate, which the French twice attempted to burn, and were as often repulsed. But when it appeared a thing impossible to preserve the ships any longer, against so unequal a force, the master thought proper to bore holes and sink them.

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To Cadiz they sent a squadron of fourteen men of war, and two bomb-ketches, and soon after followed with the whole fleet. But they were able to effect little; for the English and Dutch ships immediately retired out of the road into the port, where they were so well protected by the cannon of the place, that the French were forced to content themselves with burning two ships they had intercepted in the road, and had hindered from getting in with the rest. At Gibraltar, after an obstinate defence, several rich ships were burnt and sunk, together with a Dutch man of war. The marquis de Quincy, after relating these exploits particularly, tells us, that marshal Tourville sent twenty-four prizes into Toulon, and computes the whole loss at thirty-six millions of livres, or thereabouts. It is now time to return to admiral Rooke, and the care taken by him of the remainder of the fleet of merchantmen under his protection.

When he formed a resolution of going to the Madeiras, he sent home the Lark man of war with the news of his misfortune, and then continued his course for those islands, where he found at his arrival the Monk, captain Fairborne, and no other ships. After taking in water, and what else he had occasion for there, on the twenty-seventh of June he sailed for Ireland, and, on the twenty-ninth of July, 1693, he arrived safely at Corke, with about fifty sail of ships of all sorts, men of war and merchant-men. Soon after his arrival he received orders from the admirals, to send six of the largest ships to the fleet, and to go with the rest to Kinsale. But Sir George, conceiving that little service could be expected from the latter, because they were in a very bad condition, chose therefore to send them under the command of captain Fairborne to Kinsale, and went in person with the six men of war to the fleet, of the proceedings of which, from the time of Sir George Rooke's departure, we are next to speak, though that is both a difficult and unpleasant subject.

The flag-officers held a council of war on the ninth of July, in which it was resolved to sail forty leagues S. W. of Ushant, and there to consider what would be the next convenient step for intercepting the enemy's fleet in their return from the Mediterranean. In pursuance of this resolution, they put to sea two days after: but were so terribly ruffled by a storm, that they were forced to return into Forbay. Upon the seventeenth, the wind proving fair, they put to sea again, and proceeded to their intended station, from whence they sent out light ships in search of Sir George Rooke, and

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to cruize on the Spanish coast, in order to get some intelligence of the enemy. The former carried the orders we have before mentioned to the admiral; but the latter were not so lucky as to give any light into the proceedings of the French fleet.

While things were in this condition, an accident happened which might have been attended with very ill consequences. Our fleet had sailed when they were very indifferently furnished with provisions, upon a promise that these should be immediately sent after them. In the beginning of the month of August, fifty vessels, laden with provisions, proceeded from the river of Thames in quest of the fleet, under the convoy of two English and five Dutch men of war: but the fleet being forced from their station, they not only missed them, but lost their convoy. They met, however, with Sir George Rooke's Squadron, in its passage from Kinsale, and he brought them safe to the fleet on the sixteenth of August; and on the twenty-fifth of the same month they had orders to return to St. Helen's, where they put the four regiments, that had been on board the whole summer, on shore; and then the fleet was dispersed, having done as little for the honour of the English nation, as any fleet that ever was fitted out.

On the nineteenth of September, 1693, fifteen Dutch ships of the line of battle, and two frigates, were ordered by his majesty to Holland; and twenty-six men of war, and seven fire-ships, were assigned for the winter guard, which it was then thought would have put an end to the military operations of this year; but it soon after appeared, that there was yet a secret expedition to be attempted, in order to soften a little the joy of the French for having taken the Smyrna fleet.

On the thirteenth of November, commodore Benbow, in conjunction with captain Philips, the engineer, with a squadron of twelve men of war, four bomb-vessels, and ten brigantines and well-boats, sailed for St. Maloe's, where they arrived on the sixteenth, and about four in the afternoon anchored before Quince-fort. Three of the bomb-vessels, with the brigantines and well-boats, bore in, and anchored within half a mile of the town. About eleven they began to fire, and continued firing till four in the morning, when they were constrained to warp, to prevent grounding. On the seventeenth they went in again, and threw seventy bombs that day. They continued firing on the eighteenth, but with frequent intermissions, which made the inhabitants believe they were about to withdraw: however, they landed

on an island near the town, and burnt a convent. On the nineteenth, being Sunday, they lay still till the evening, when, by the favour of a fresh gale of wind, a strong tide, and a very dark night, they sent in an extraordinary fire-ship, of about three hundred tons burden, and which was intended to have reduced the town to ashes; and indeed would have done it, but for an unforeseen accident, for she struck upon a rock, within pistol shot of the place where they intended to have moored her.

The engineer, who was on board, did all he could to get her off, but to no purpose. At last, finding the vessel begin to open, and fearing she might sink, he set fire to her. The sea-water, which had penetrated in many places, prevented the carcasses from taking fire. The explosion, however, was terrible beyond description; it shook the whole town like an earthquake, broke all glass and earthen ware for three leagues round, and struck off the roofs of three hundred houses. The most extraordinary thing of all was this, that the capstern of the vessel, which weighed two hundred weight, was carried over the walls, and beat a house it fell upon down to the ground. The greatest part of the walls towards the sea fell down also; and if there had been a sufficient number of land-troops on board, the place might with ease have been taken and pillaged. As it was, they demolished Quince-fort, carried off eighty prisoners, and frightened most of the people out of the town. This expedition was well timed, and well executed. It struck a panic into the inhabitants of St. Maloe's, whence the most troublesome of the French privateers were fitted out, and it served to awake that whole nation from their golden dreams of the empire of the sea, by shewing them what a very small squadron of English ships could do, when commanded by men of resolution and experience.

The king returned to England in the latter end of the month of October, 1693, under the escort of a small squadron of men of war, commanded by rear-admiral Mitchel. On the sixth of November, his majesty declared his resolution to employ admiral Russel the next year at sea. On the seventh the parliament met, and his majesty opened the sessions with a speech. Upon which the house of commons came unanimously to a resolution, that they would support their majesties and their government, inquire into the miscarriages of the fleet in the preceding summer, and consider of all possible ways and means for conserving the trade of the nation.

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The house of commons, to shew they were in earnest, examined all the admirals strictly, particularly Sir George Rooke, though he was so ill as to be scarce able to speak, and withal so lame of the gout, that a chair was set for him at the bar of the house. On the seventeenth of November they came to a resolution, "That, upon examination of the miscarriage of the fleet, this house is of opinion, that there hath been a notorious and treacherous mismanagement in that affair." Yet, afterwards, a negative was put on a resolution to censure the admirals commanding in chief; and so, by degrees, after much noise and clamour, the matter blew over.

But, notwithstanding the admirals escaped, yet many things were laid open in the house of commons, which reflected extremely on the management of the navy. It appeared, particularly, that the sum of 1,036,415*l.* was due for seamen's wages. This struck the house with astonishment, and accounted at the same time very fully for the backwardness of the sailors in entering into the public service. To provide a remedy for so great an evil, and to encourage the seamen for the future, the commons voted 500,000*l.* towards the discharge of the debt, and 2,000,000*l.* for the service of the fleet, that his majesty might be able to perform the promise he had made them of taking care that things should go on next year better at sea: His majesty also made several changes in the ministry, which gave great satisfaction; for the late inquiries had made it evident, that the dependants on some great men were principally concerned in giving information to the French of all our motions: a conduct which, however coloured or clouded, was a most gross and glaring treason against their country, such as ought to have drawn upon them the severest punishments while living, and which deserves to be transmitted to posterity with a proper note of infamy, to prevent like practices in succeeding times.

Before we speak of the naval operations of the year 1694, it will be necessary to give some account of the sending Sir Francis Wheeler with his squadron into the Mediterranean, as that was a measure not only concerted, but executed in the preceding year, though its being altogether independent of other affairs made it not so proper to mention it before. The great blow the English and Dutch commerce had received there by the intercepting the Smyrna fleet, and the danger there was in leaving the remains of that fleet any longer in Spanish harbours, engaged the board of admiralty to send their orders for Sir Francis Wheeler to proceed with

a squadron of twenty-five men of war and frigates, in conjunction with a Dutch vice-admiral and his squadron, to the Mediterranean, where he had instructions to use his utmost endeavour to procure the safe return of the plate-fleet into Cadiz; then he was to leave a sufficient convoy for bringing home the ships in that port to England: he was next to convoy the Turkey ships as far as the channel of Malta; then, in conjunction with the Spanish fleet, he was to annoy the enemy's trade, till he judged his detached ships were about to return, and, after joining them at the appointed place of rendezvous, he was to bring back with him all the merchant-ships ready to sail from any of the ports in the Straights, or from Cadiz.

On the 27th of November, in pursuance of these instructions, he sailed, and on the 4th of December sent the ships bound to Oporto thither under a convoy, as two days after he did those bound for Lisbon and St. Ubes; and, having by his vigilance prevented a design of the French to intercept part of the merchant-ships under his convoy, he arrived on the 19th of January in the bay of Cadiz, having lost company in his passage with only one of a hundred and sixty-five ships which sailed with him from England. So happy was the beginning of an expedition, which proved, afterwards so unfortunate!

On the admiral's arriving at Cadiz, he found the Spanish fleet in no condition to sail, but had the satisfaction of finding the *flota* safely arrived. On the 25th of January rear-admiral Neville joined him with the ships he had ordered to cruise off Cape St. Vincent, together with the detached convoys which the French in vain had endeavoured to intercept. Sir Francis Wheeler, upon this, appointed a squadron of four English and as many Dutch men of war, with a fire-ship, under the command of vice-admiral Hopson, to bring home the merchant-ships that were ready, and on the 10th of February sailed with the rest of the squadron to execute the remaining part of his instructions. On the 17th of the same month, being off the bay of Gibraltar, and having been driven out of the Straights-mouth, he met with a storm, which increased till the 19th in the morning, when the admiral, seeing the Gut, stood away for it, and made a proper signal to the rest of the fleet, and was followed by vice-admiral Callemberg, who first saw the signal, and other ships. But they, having the bay of Gibraltar open, and in all probability mistaking it for the Straights-mouth, put in there, which occasioned their unhappy misfortune; for it being a lee shore, foul ground, and their sails

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flying into the air, they were forced to let go their anchors, of which many were lost, most of their cables spoiled, and several of their ships run on shore.

In the mean time the *Suffex*, on board which the admiral was, foundered at sea, and himself, with all his crew, to the number of five hundred and fifty, were lost, only two Turks escaping. The admiral's body was soon after found on a sand-bank, in his shirt and slippers: it was guessed from thence, that, seeing the ship about to sink, he intended to have thrown himself into the sea, and attempt to save himself by swimming. The whole squadron suffered extremely, and were obliged to remain, by contrary winds, a long time at Gibraltar, and at length, in the beginning of May, sailed for Cadiz. In the mean time vice-admiral Hopson, in pursuance of the orders before-mentioned, sailed with the homeward-bound ships, and arrived safely off the Lizard on the 5th of April, 1694.

On the 1st of May admiral Russel took the command of the fleet at St. Helen's, which consisted of fifty-two English and forty-one Dutch ships of the line, besides frigates, fire-ships, and other smaller vessels. On the 3d the admiral sailed with the grand fleet, leaving Sir Cloudesley Shovel with a strong squadron at Portsmouth, in order to embark the land-forces. On the 9th, being fifteen leagues S. S. W. of the Lizard, the admiral was informed by the captain of a Swedish ship, that there lay in Bertaume-bay a fleet of French merchantmen, bound to the eastward; upon which he immediately detached captain Pritchard in the *Monmouth*, together with the *Resolution* and the *Roebuck* fire-ships, with orders either to take or destroy them. Accordingly, on the 10th, as soon as it was light, they made the French shore about seven miles from the fleet, and by five o'clock they saw several ships behind a point of land near Conquet-bay, which, upon a signal given from one of their scouts, immediately put to sea. In the mean time captain Pritchard pursued the man of war that was their convoy, and forced her to haul in with the shore, and run against the rocks under the outermost castle; and this man of war proved to be the *Jersey* frigate, which the enemy had taken from us in the West-Indies, and which soon after blew up, and with her two sloops of between ten and sixteen guns. The merchant-ships were in all about fifty-five sail, of which thirty-five were burnt or sunk, twenty-five in Whitesand-bay, four on the south side of the point of the bay, and six on the south side of Conquet, their lading being for the most part salt, wine, and brandy. Some few days after, two other ships

ships took and destroyed seventeen French vessels laden with corn and other provisions.

The admiral returned back again to St. Helen's by that time he judged that Sir Cloudesley Shovel could have executed the orders he had left with him; and finding the land-forces completely embarked, and every thing ready, he sailed with the whole fleet on the 29th of May, having before given the necessary directions for the separating, at a proper station, of the Squadron that was intended for the Brest expedition, and which was to be commanded by the lord Berkley. On the last day of the month, at nine in the morning, a council of war was held on board the Britannia, in which it was resolved, that the fleet designed for Brest should immediately proceed to Camaret-bay, and should land the forces on board under the directions of lieutenant-general Talmash, and the necessary instructions were for this purpose given to lord Berkley, and the officers that went to command under him.

On the 5th of June the lord Berkley parted, with his Squadron, from the grand fleet, having with him twenty-nine English and Dutch men of war of the line, besides small frigates, fire-ships, machines, tenders, well-boats, and five bomb-ketches. On the 6th a council of war was held, in which the proper measures were taken for landing the forces; and it was agreed, that lord Cutts should command six hundred grenadiers, and lieutenant-general Talmash advance in person at the head of the troops that were to support them. On the 7th the fleet came to an anchor between Camaret-bay and the bay of Bertaume, the French playing upon them with bombs from four batteries. The marquis of Caermarthen demanded leave of lord Berkley the admiral to go into Camaret-bay, in order to observe the situation of the forts, and the posture of the enemy. On his lordship's return, and making his report, the admiral ordered two sixty-gun ships to go in and cover the boats while they were landing; to which the marquis objecting that it was too small a force, a council of war was called on the 8th, in which it was resolved to send in three English and as many Dutch frigates, besides the two men of war before-mentioned.

One of these, however, the Richmond, deserted the post assigned her, and the marquis of Caermarthen carried in the other five, and posted them in their proper places, which, though a very necessary, was a most dangerous service, since, at their going in, a bomb broke over the Monk, a great piece of which struck through her poop, and two decks more, and

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and came out again into the water near one of the stern-ports in the larboard-side, in the gun-room, killing three marines, and one of them by the side of the marquis. So soon as the Monk got into the bay, and came up with the western point, Camaret-fort fired upon her very warmly; and, when the rest of the ships were properly disposed, they were surprised to find themselves played upon from three batteries, not one of which was discerned till they felt the shot from it. These military compliments they returned with great spirit, and, by keeping a brisk and continual fire, covered the troops in their landing, which was not, however, performed with that regularity that might have been expected.

The reason of this, since I do not find it already set down in any of our historians, I think myself obliged to give, as I have had it from the mouths of many who were engaged in that warm service. The French had been so well informed of our design, and such strange delays had been made in embarking the forces, that, when our fleet came upon the coast, they found the French every where covered by impregnable entrenchments, and supported by a body of regular troops, more numerous than the forces intended for this descent. This was represented to lieutenant-general Talmaish in the council of war, and he was advised not to expose himself or his men: to which he answered; "This advice comes too late: the honour of the English nation is at stake, and therefore I must and will land. I know that I sacrifice myself and the men; but it is necessary, and must be done, that both our enemies and allies may know, that even desperate undertakings cannot daunt English courage."

He embarked on board the small vessels, with about eight hundred men, and landed as many of them as he could, but to very little purpose; for several of the well-boats striking, all that were in them were either killed or wounded before they could get to the shore, and those that did land were very soon driven back to their boats, and with much difficulty carried off again. Amongst the wounded was lieutenant-general Talmaish himself, who received a shot in his thigh, of which he soon after died. The marquis of Caermarthen, afterwards duke of Leeds, whose courage no man ever called in question, tells us on this occasion, that, if the English force had been double to what it was, they would have found the attempt impracticable.

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When the men on board the ships saw only a few boats come off again, and the whole affair over, they began to be out of heart, and the marquis had much ado to bring them out of the bay. The Monk had not either a yard or a sail, but was towed off; the rest of the vessels were also brought away with great difficulty, except a Dutch frigate called the *Teesep*, of thirty guns, which had twelve feet water in her hold, all her men being killed except eight; and, of half an English company that was accidentally left on board her, only an ensign, a drummer, and a private man, escaped; so that they were obliged to leave her behind. A council of war being called in the evening, it was resolved therein to return to Spithead. The loss upon this occasion was computed at seven hundred of the land-forces killed, wounded, and taken, and about four hundred killed and wounded on board the ships.

The marquis de Quincy, who is at once the most exact and most moderate of all the French writers, informs us, that, at the time this attempt was made, M. de Vauban had taken care to put the town of Brest into an excellent state of defence. It was surrounded with strong walls, good ramparts, large and deep ditches cut in the rock, with bastions and half-moons at proper distances. He had erected a new battery of sixteen pieces of cannon and six mortars on the bastion of the town, nearest the castle, between it and the grand battery, with several smaller batteries in other places. He had likewise taken care to render all the vaults in the castle bomb-proof, and had made the best disposition possible of ninety mortars, and three hundred pieces of large cannon. As for the vessels in the port, they were placed out of the reach even of bombs; and, with respect to men, he had fourteen hundred bombardiers, three thousand gentlemen who served as volunteers, and of regular troops four thousand foot, and a regiment of dragoons.

General Talmash's landing, therefore, with eight hundred men, might well be called a sacrifice, and yet more than half these could never be got on shore; we must, therefore, admit, that when the marquis says four hundred were killed, five hundred forty-eight soldiers and forty officers made prisoners, he carries the thing a little too far. Father Daniel, however, and some other writers, carry it as far; and indeed most of them agree in computing our whole loss at two thousand. As to what they say of ships being sunk, and hundreds of men drowned in the retreat, they are mere ornaments, which from frequent use are become necessary to a French detail, as their having but forty-five

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five men killed in this action is another stroke of the marvellous, which every reader perhaps may not be in the humour to credit.

After this unlucky attempt the poor wounded lieutenant-general proposed, that a small squadron of frigates and bomb-vessels might be sent into the harbour of Brest to bombard that town; but this was judged to be a rash, and, as things stood, an impracticable undertaking; and therefore lord Berkley sailed immediately for our own coasts, and arrived on the 15th of June, 1694, at St. Helen's. There they found the queen's orders to call a council of war, to consider how the ships and troops might, after this fatal miscarriage, be best employed. After several consultations, it was resolved to keep no more than four regiments on board, and to make some attempts on the coast of Normandy. Advice of this being sent to court, and an answer being returned on the 27th of June, it was resolved, in another council of war, first to bombard the town of Diepe, and then to proceed along the French coast, and do every where what prejudice they could. In pursuance of this resolution they came before that place, but were forced to sea by a storm, and afterwards anchored off Dungeness, from whence they sailed on the 5th of July, and arrived once more in Diepe road on the 8th. The next day they intended to have bombarded the place, but were prevented by exceeding foul weather for several days together.

On the twelfth they began about nine in the morning to play upon the town of Diepe, and continued without ceasing till about nine at night. About eleven they sent in one of their machines which the French call infernals, with an intent to burn the pier; but several vessels full of stones, being very providently sunk before it, rendered that ineffectual; so that, except astonishing the tow by the mighty noise, it did little mischief.

Captain Dunbar, a Scots gentleman, who commanded it, acquired immortal honour by his intrepidity on this occasion; for the train not taking effect as was expected, he went on board again, and finding the fuzee out set fire to it a second time, for which he and those who went with him were deservedly rewarded. They continued the bombardment afterwards till day-light, and the streets being narrow, the houses old, and most of them built of timber, the town was on fire in twenty places at once; so that the far greater part of it was consumed to ashes. The French court did all they could to stifle the report of this, at least

at Paris ; but the place was too near for any such artifices to take effect ; so that by endeavouring to lessen, they really increased the people's apprehensions, and all the inhabitants of the sea-coasts would have abandoned their towns and villages, if forces had not been sent to restrain them.

After the bombardment of Diepe, the English squadron sailed along the coast, and obliged the French to march their forces night and day, in order to prevent the debarking any troops ; which, however, was a thing the English admiral never intended. On the fifteenth, about noon, lord Berkley arrived at Havre de Grace, and about four o'clock he began to bombard it. On the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth, the French poured troops and militia into the place, in order to assist the inhabitants to put out the fires lighted from time to time by the bombs ; and as the wind continued blowing all that time directly from the shore, the English were not able to do much, though they remained still before the place, which threw all the adjacent country into a terrible consternation. On the twenty-first, the wind being favourable, the small craft and bomb-vessels were sent in, and continued bombarding the place the whole night, by which a third part of the town was burnt down, a great part of the wall demolished, and, which was worst of all, abundance of poor people killed. All this, however, could not be performed without loss ; many of the mortars melted, the Grenado bomb-ship was blown up, and the rest of the small craft so shattered, that it was thought convenient to retire. But, even in doing this, care was taken to give the French infinite disquiet ; for, appearing before La Hogue, their forces were drawn that way : but our squadron was in no condition to undertake any thing, and therefore, after alarming the enemy as much as possible, lord Berkley returned to St. Helen's on the 26th of July, 1694, in order to refit.

The court was very desirous that something should be undertaken against Dunkirk, and to that purpose several expresses were dispatched to the fleet ; but, upon a nice examination of the different proposals made by the engineers and pilots, they were all of opinion that the season was too far advanced, and that nothing could be undertaken this year with any probability of success. A plan was then sent of Calais, which came from the king in Flanders ; but the scheme of bombarding that place was also judged impracticable by a council of war, which resolution was chiefly owing to the diffidence of the pilots. On the 27th of August

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guft lord Berkley returned to London, and the command of the fleet, which confifted now only of frigates and fmall fhips, devolved on Sir Cloudesley Shovel, whose inftructions were expreffed to undertake something againft Dunkirk at all events.

Mr. Meesters, who was the inventor and director of the machines called infernals, was at this time in Flanders, endeavouring to collect pilots able to carry the Squadron into the harbour of Dunkirk, or at leaft fo far into the road, as might enable them to deftroy the enemy's fhips. Sir Cloudesley failed to the Downs in the beginning of September, and on the feventh was joined by Mr. Meesters, with twenty-fix Dutch pilots, when captain Benbow was appointed to command the fmall fhips, and to follow the inftructions of Mr. Meesters, whose pilots did not perform what was expected from them. On the twelfth, however, Sir Cloudesley Shovel appeared before the town [of Dunkirk, with thirteen Englifh and fix Dutch men of war, two bomb-veffels, feventeen machines, and other fmall craft. In the evening captain Benbow went in, and founded the western channel, between the Brake and the Main, notwithstanding a prodigious fire from the fhips and the citadel. The next day all the boats and fmall veffels were fent in again, with the Charles galley, and two bomb-veffels.

In the afternoon two of the machines were fent in. The firft took fire before fhe was near enough to do any execution: whether it was that the cannon of the place fet fire to it, as fome of the French writers fay, or that thofe on board, finding it impoffible either to bring it nearer or to get it off, were obliged to let it burn there. The other, which was the biggeft, went in boldly, and advanced very near the mole-head; but the tide fet her on one fide, fo that fhe drove a cable's length, and then blew up. It was found, that the French had, according to cuftom, early intelligence of this defign, and by driving piles before the pier-head, and finking fhips on the back of the weftermoft pier, had fecured themfelves againft all attempts of this nature: Sir Cloudesley Shovel being informed of this, and knowing that the fpring-tides were over, failed away for Calais, and on the feventeenth fent the bomb-veffels in, and threw fo many fhells into the town, that about forty houfes were ruined; but the wind blowing hard that night, and a great swell of fea happening, the admiral was forced to bear away, and the ftorm continuing two days, he thought it not convenient to ftay

to stay any longer, but returned with his whole squadron into the Downs, from whence the bomb vessels and machines were sent into the river Thames.

We are now to turn our eyes towards the Mediterranean, whither admiral Russel sailed with the grand fleet as we have remarked, on the 6th of June, 1694. He arrived on the twenty-fifth off the rock of Lisbon, and thence sent orders to rear admiral Neville, who, as we before observed, commanded the squadron which protected the English merchant ships at Cadiz, to join him, which he did, with the Dutch vice admirals Callemberg and Evertzen, with sixteen ships of the line, which increased the number of those in the fleet to sixty-three. The admiral then resolved to steer immediately for Barcelona, in order to save that city, and the province of Catalonia, from falling into the hands of the French, who at that time had a numerous army, and a great naval force, under the command of M. Tourville, or at least very near the place. The French admiral had no sooner intelligence of the approach of our fleet, than he retired precipitately from before Barcelona, and soon after shut himself up in the port of Toulon, which put it entirely out of dispute, that the maritime powers were now able to give law to France in all parts of the world. The siege of Barcelona too was raised, to the infinite joy of the king of Spain, who testified his gratitude for this signal assistance, in the warmest and most public manner possible.

Our admiral, indeed, found the Spanish affairs in the most distressed condition imaginable. Their Armada consisted but of ten ships, and of these four only were of the line of battle; the rest of small force, and so rotten, that they could scarce endure the firing of their own guns. Their army in Catalonia was in a still worse condition; it consisted but of 9000 men, without clothes, without pay, without provisions, without artillery, and even without tents. The towns on the sea coast were so meanly fortified, that, on the approach of a French squadron, the people had no other way to secure themselves but by flight. Admiral Russel stated all this in a letter to the king, and at the same time offered the viceroy of Catalonia to do all that was in his power for his assistance; which, however, was not much, for, on the other hand, the demands made by the viceroy were excessively unreasonable, and what the admiral was able to do could not much benefit him; which was the reason that, together with an apprehension of provisions growing short, induced the admiral to desire the fleet might return home; for which, when he had made

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all the necessary preparations, and was on the very point of quitting the Spanish coast, he received an order under his majesty's signet and sign manual, directing him to winter at Cadiz. This embarrassed him extremely, and the rather, because no care was taken to send commissioners for victualling; so that this fell entirely upon the admiral, and was no small addition to the load of cares with which he was already oppressed.

Yet, considering the importance of the service, the dangers to which the men would be exposed by mismanagement in this affair, and how far the honour of the English nation was at stake, he applied himself to this new employment with such diligence, that never men were better furnished with provisions and wine; and this too was managed with so great economy, that notwithstanding the apparent difference between obtaining provisions for a great fleet and single ships, yet the former was victualled at as small an expence to the public as the latter, and in many circumstances at a much cheaper rate; nor did the admiral, when he found it necessary, make any scruple of engaging his personal credit and private estate, for the service of his country.

While the fleet continued before Alicant, the admiral dispatched a squadron of ten sail, under the command of rear admiral Neville, with orders to cruize between the islands and the Barbary coast, as well to intercept any French vessels that might pass that way, as to procure wood and other necessaries for the fleet. Soon after this, the admiral falling ill of a fever and bloody flux, he devolved the care of the fleet on vice admiral Aylmer, with orders to join rear admiral Neville, and in case he had any news of the French fleet's being come out of Toulon, to sail in quest of them without delay; but if not, to return to Alicant, which he did on the tenth of September. The admiral, though in a very weak state of health, went very soon on board, and resumed the command of the fleet, with which he proceeded to Cadiz, where he arrived on the eighth of November, 1694, and took all the necessary precautions to prevent the French from passing the Streights, without receiving proper notice of their motions.

While he continued there, the Spaniards sent him frequent advices of the French fleet's being ready to quit Toulon; which, however, he did not much regard, as having better intelligence of his own. It is true, the French fleet was kept clean and well rigged during the winter, with design to have brought it round to Brest; but the advices they had of
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admiral Russel's force, and their knowledge of his diligence, had such an effect on the mind of M. Tourville, that he could not be prevailed on to risk the ships under his command in so dangerous a passage. His catholic majesty was all this time soliciting our admiral to undertake impossibilities, such as transporting five, then seven thousand men, from Genoa on board his men of war, though he knew them to be foul by their being so long at sea, and but indifferently provided with victuals; which, though the admiral refused, yet he did it with great decency, and at the same time offered unanswerable reasons in support of his own conduct; adding, that he would write home to demand, amongst other supplies, a reasonable number of land forces: and in this manner the remainder of the year was spun out.

It is now requisite to take notice of what was done at home in relation to naval affairs; and, in the first place, I must observe, that the king, on his return from Flanders, under the escort of a small squadron, commanded by the marquis of Caermarthen, called the parliament together on the twelfth of November, and opened the sessions with a speech, which began thus: "I am glad to meet you here, when I can say our affairs are in a better posture, both by sea and land, than when we parted last. The enemy has not been in a condition to oppose our fleet in the seas; and our sending so great a force into the Mediterranean has disappointed their designs, and leaves us a prospect of further success." He recommended to them, at the same time, early and effectual supplies, and the passing some good law for the encouragement of seamen. The commons received these propositions very cheerfully, and having examined the estimates that were laid before them for the next year, voted a supply of 2,382,712*l.* for the navy, which sufficiently shewed how easy it was to engage the nation to give money, when they had any tolerable prospect of seeing it well laid out.

The death of queen Mary, which happened towards the latter end of the year, served not only to damp the spirits of the people, who had a wonderful affection for the person of that princess, but to give the enemies of the government an opportunity to attempt distressing the nation, by pretending that the parliament was legally dissolved by her majesty's demise. This, however strange and singular, was the sentiment of her majesty's uncle, the earl of Rochester, and of some others; but certainly it was but very ill founded. The executive part of the government was, by law, in king William only, though the title, as well as the right, was declared

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clared to be in their majesties jointly. The calling of a parliament was certainly an act of the executive power, and consequently it ought to have been understood in law as the special and immediate act of the king, though the writs ran in the joint names of both their majesties, as all other acts of state did; yet without impeachment or diminution of the king's authority. Upon this principle, and no body's seconding the earl of Rochester in his motion in the house of lords, the parliament was held to be no way affected by her death, but proceeded in its deliberations as if no such accident had happened.

A considerable supply being sent to the fleet in the beginning of the war, admiral Russel resolved to send a small squadron up the Streights; it was composed of six stout frigates, and the command given to captain James Killegrew, who had instructions to protect our own trade, and to annoy that of the enemy. In their cruize, on the 18th of January, 1695, they discovered two French ships, viz. the *Content*, commanded by the marquis du Chalard, of seventy guns, and the *Trident*, under count d'Aulnoy, of sixty guns, between Cape Bona and the island Pantalaera on the Barbary coast. The French men of war mistook the English for merchantmen, and bore down upon them, but, quickly perceiving their mistake, endeavoured to get away. It was four in the afternoon before captain Killegrew, in the *Plymouth*, could come up with them; and, the wind being then calm, she alone engaged both the French ships for the space of more than an hour, in which time capt. Killegrew was killed by a cannon shot. Then came up the *Falmouth*, capt. Grantham, who engaged them for near another hour, till the other four English frigates came in: whereupon the French separated, the *Carlisle*, *Newcastle*, and *Southampton*, pursued the biggest of them, and the *Falmouth* and *Adventure* the lesser, the *Plymouth* being forced to bear away for Messina, having lost her fore-top-mast, and her other masts and rigging being very much shattered. The French made a running fight the night following and part of the next day, when, their ships being disabled, and the count d'Aulnoy, one of their commanders, with many of their men killed, they both yielded. One of them, called the *Trident*, being leaky, and it blowing very fresh, the English sent her to Gorgonti, and carried the *Content* to Messina, where they arrived the 2d of March. The *Plymouth* had fourteen men killed, and thirty wounded, and there might be about twice that number killed and wounded on board the rest of the ships. The brave captain Killegrew was interred at Messina

Messina with all the honours due to his rank and merit. The news of this action reached home much about the time that the lords presented their address, which was a very fortunate circumstance for the friends of the court, who mentioned it on all occasions as a fact which fully supported their arguments. On the other side, a large account of this affair was printed at Paris, in which the marquis du Chalard said a great many fine things of himself and his nation, but after all admits they were beat.

On the 15th of February, 1694, a great supply of provisions arrived from England, and soon after admiral Russel detached rear-admiral Neville, with a strong squadron, to watch the motions of the French. In the beginning of April arrived the land forces, consisting of about four thousand five hundred men, under the command of brigadier Stuart and other experienced officers, and with them came a large fleet of victuallers, and twelve bomb vessels. The fleet then sailed from Cadiz, and proceeded to Barcelona, before which port they arrived early in the month of May, and found the Spanish affairs in Catalonia in the same declining way in which they left them, notwithstanding all the pressing remonstrances which had from time to time been made by our admiral to the Spanish court on that subject.

In the mean time rear-admiral Neville was sent to escort a body of Spanish troops, which were to be transported from Final into that province. He had also directions to apply himself to the duke of Savoy, in order to be informed, whether, with the assistance of the fleet, he could undertake to invade any part of the dominions of France, or to assist in a design that was then formed against Toulon. But his highness, being intent upon taking Casal, declined entering upon any measures of this nature; and therefore rear admiral Nevill was forced to content himself with the other part of his instructions, and rejoin the grand fleet with the Spanish troops under his protection, which he very happily performed.

It was about the middle of the month of July, when the marquis de Gastanaga, the Spanish governor of Catalonia, formed the design of retaking Palamos, in which he desired the assistance of admiral Russel. To this purpose he made him a visit on board the fleet, where the admiral told him the situation things were in, the necessity he was under of sending home Sir John Munden with some of the largest ships, and the impossibility there was of suffering the troops to continue for above a week or a few days longer

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on shore. However, in spite of all these difficulties and disappointments, he assured the marquis, that he was ready to do the very utmost in his power, both by landing the troops, and by sending in a squadron of light vessels to bombard the place. In consequence of these resolutions, the confederate forces, consisting of four thousand English and Dutch, were landed; the former under the command of brigadier Stuart, the latter under that of count Nassau.

This was on the 9th of August, and it was the next day before they joined the Spanish army, the very sight of which was enough to discourage them. To enumerate their wants, would be tedious and unnecessary, since in truth they were in want of every thing; and, if our people had not by accident brought with them some pick-axes and shovels on shore, they could not have intrenched themselves; which, however, was very necessary, since the French had not only a good garrison in Palamos, but an army at least equal to that of the Spaniards, within sight of the place. The bombardment, however, succeeded better; the greatest part of the town and castle were destroyed: but the admiral, being informed that the French fleet were coming out of Toulon, thought proper to reembark his forces, and to sail for the coast of Provence, in order to watch the motions of the enemy.

After his departure from the coast of Catalonia, the admiral met with exceeding bad weather, which hindered him from accomplishing some things he had in view. He found also, that his intelligence as to the designs of the French had not been very exact, and therefore thought it advisable to retire down the Streights; which he did, and arrived, towards the latter end of the month of September, in the bay of Cadiz. There he made the necessary dispositions for securing our trade in the Mediterranean from any interruption, by leaving a sufficient force to frustrate the designs of the enemy, and even to assist the Spaniards, in case they shewed any greater care of their own concerns after his departure than they had hitherto done: and, having taken these precautions, and given proper instructions to Sir David Mitchel, rear admiral of the red, who was to be left with a squadron of three and twenty ships of the line, besides frigates and bomb vessels, he turned his thoughts entirely to the carrying the rest of the fleet back to England, most of the great ships being very foul, and many of them but indifferently manned. This design he very happily accomplished, arriving in November with twelve sail of great

ships, exclusive of the Dutch, a frigate or two, and some fire-ships, on our own coast.

We are now to consider what passed at home, and how those measures were prosecuted, which had been concerted for humbling the French on the ocean. Our attempts the year before had not indeed answered the sanguine expectations of ignorant people, who imagined that they were not to have left a house standing on all the French coast, and on the other hand seemed but to justify too well what such as were best skilled in maritime affairs had advanced as to the impossibility of performing any great services in the way of bombarding; yet it was resolved, that this should be pursued. The great men in the cabinet, amongst whom was the famous earl of Sunderland, perhaps the ablest minister of his time, thought themselves better judges of these matters than either the seamen or the people, and while they were able to shew their own force for the present, and while lessen the French power for the future, and give infinite uneasiness to the whole French nation by such expeditions, the expence of them, though considerable, was, in their judgments, very far from being thrown away.

They were, besides, very sensible, that nothing could enable us and our allies to continue the war with any prospect of success, but our making such uses of our fleet as might lessen the visible superiority of the enemy's forces by land. This had been effectually done by admiral Russel while he continued in the Mediterranean; for though he found it impossible to enable the Spaniards to do any thing, who had little or rather no force at all, yet he had visibly prevented the loss of Barcelona, and indeed of all Catalonia, which nothing but his presence could have kept, either this year or the last, out of the hands of the French, and the bombardments of last year had frustrated all the French schemes, and kept their whole naval force useless in their ports, which had been otherwise employed to our prejudice.

The fleet intended for this service was in such forwardness by the middle of June, that the lord Berkeley of Stratton, who was to command it, had orders to repair on board. On his arrival at Spithead, a council of war was called, in order to consider what should be first undertaken; and, upon mature deliberation, it was resolved, that there was the greatest probability of succeeding against St. Malo's. But the Dutch admiral Allemonde having acquainted lord Berkeley, that he had the king's absolute orders to consider the project for attacking Dunkirk before all others, this occasioned

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casioned a fresh delay. However, when it was proposed that the Dutch should act separately in this last undertaking, it was by them declared impracticable, and a full resolution taken to execute immediately the design against St. Malo's.

With this view the fleet sailed on the twenty-third of June; and on the fourth of July lord Berkeley, with all the ships under his command, came before the place, and began instantly to bombard Quince fort to the westward, and the battery, raised by the enemy to the eastward, on point Danbour, between which is the channel of the town. The first service was performed by colonel Richards, who had three English and two Dutch bomb vessels under his command, and the latter was committed entirely to the Dutch, who employed therein four bomb vessels for many hours. On the fifth, every thing being ready to attack the town, lord Berkeley, about four in the morning, gave the signal. Upon this captain Benbow went on board the Charles galley, and hoisted a flame-coloured flag, and immediately after, the English and Dutch frigates, appointed to guard the bomb vessels, entered the channel, and came to an anchor within a mile and a half of the town, having colonel Richards, with the bomb vessels, in a line before them. About six the bombardment began. All this time the enemy fired very warmly from the shore, from the batteries on the great and little bay in the island of Danbour, their gallies and boats taking also the opportunities of the tides, and rowing sometimes so near as to gall with their small shot the line of bomb vessels. Yet, in spite of this interruption, the bombardment was so vigorously pursued, that about eight o'clock a great fire broke out in the east part of the town, and vast clouds of smoke were seen ascending in several places. Lord Berkeley, admiral Allemonde, and Sir Cloudesley Shovel, came in their boats to encourage the seamen, and expressed much satisfaction as to the manner in which the attack was disposed.

An English and Dutch fire ship set the wooden fort on the Quince rock on fire, which burnt for two hours; and about four in the afternoon a great fire broke out in the west part of the town. By seven in the evening the bomb vessels had spent their whole cargo of nine thousand bombs and carcasses, and therefore the signal was made to put to sea. This enterprize was executed by six English and four Dutch men of war, nine galliots, fourteen flat-bottomed boats, and two brigantines. The loss sustained by the enemy's fire were sixty men killed and wounded, a bomb vessel called

the Terrible, so shattered, that they were forced to set her on fire, two boats, and three or four barks sunk. The bombardment lasted somewhat more than eleven hours, with all the success that could possibly be expected, a great part of the place being burnt, and the enemy reduced to the necessity of blowing up several houses, to prevent the whole from being destroyed.

The French accounts do indeed contradict these; but, at the same time, they are such as cannot either raise the reputation of France, with impartial judges, or discredit what has been advanced on this subject by the English and Dutch. M. Quincy tells us, that the court appointed marshal Choiseul to command on the coast of Britany. At La Hogue he had two battalions of marines, three of militia, a regiment of horse, and a regiment of dragoons; and, besides these, he had a numerous corps de reserve. M. d'Estrees commanded in the neighbourhood of Rochelle another considerable body of forces. The care of Brest, and the adjacent country, was committed to M. Vaubon, who had a special commission to enable him to command the marines, of which there were twenty-two battalions on the coast. All this shews how apprehensive the French were of these visits, into what confusion they put them, and what mighty expences they were obliged to be at, in order to provide against their effects.

After this affair was over, a small squadron proceeded to Granville, a place of some trade. This squadron consisted of eight frigates, and as many bomb vessels. On the eighth of July, about nine in the morning, captain Benbow anchored before the place, and colonels Richard, about an hour afterwards, began the bombardment, which lasted till six in the evening, and then the squadron bore away, leaving the town all in flames, which is a fact the French have never offered to dispute, though most of their writers slip it over without saying a word. On the ninth the fleet appeared before Havre de Grace; not with any design to attack it, but merely to alarm and harraßs the enemy: which having performed, they sailed for Portsmouth, in order to make the necessary preparations there for an attempt upon Dunkirk, the destruction of which port would have given equal satisfaction to the English and Dutch, both nations suffering very much, though not equally, by her privateers, which were the very bane of all our northern and coast trade.

On the return of the fleet, four hundred soldiers were immediately embarked, and Mr. Meesters received orders to prepare

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prepare his machines, on the success of which the whole affair depended. After this, all the proper machines were concerted with that engineer. But, whether through some backwardness in him, or from what other accident it is not very clear, so it was, that the month of July expired before the attempt upon Dunkirk was made. On the first of August lord Berkeley sent in the bomb ketches, fire ships, and machine vessels, with several light frigates and brigantines, to protect them against the enemies half-gallies, and other armed boats, of which they had a great many. About nine in the morning the bombardment began; about two in the afternoon four smoke ships were sent in, which were burnt to little or no purpose. The bomb vessels, however, continued firing till about five, and then with the frigates, &c. were ordered off. Several of the shells fell into the rise-bank and upon the pier-heads, and three of the enemy's half gallies were sunk.

Lord Berkeley, notwithstanding this disappointment, resolved to prosecute his orders, and coming before Cadiz, called a council of war, in which it was determined to endeavour first of all to burn a wooden fort erected at the entrance of the pier-heads, which was furnished with fourteen heavy cannon; and, with several other batteries, defended the entrance of the place in such a manner, that it was absolutely impossible any thing could be undertaken till these obstacles were removed. To this end colonel Richards was ordered to fill two well-boats with the materials of a fire ship, and to dispose the boats for making a formal attack. Several accidents prevented the execution of this design till the seventeenth of August in the morning, when, anchoring eastward of the town, the bombardment began with such success, that by noon the place was on fire in several parts. About this time the enemy's half gallies came out, and stood along under the shore, in order to break the line of bomb vessels; but the frigates and brigantines standing in, put them into such confusion, that they retired with precipitation, and with much difficulty recovered the pier-heads. The bombardment was then continued, without any interruption, till about five in the afternoon, by which time six hundred shells were thrown into the place. The magazine and the rise-bank were entirely burnt, several houses destroyed, and many more very much damaged; with this particular circumstance in our favour, that, notwithstanding all the efforts of the enemy, and a prodigious fire from their batteries, we suffered very little loss; only

captain

captain Osborne, who commanded the Alborough ketch was killed by a cannon ball.

The marquis of Caermarthen, who had the command of a squadron stationed off the Scilly islands, was so unlucky as to mistake a fleet of merchantmen for the Brest squadron; whereupon, without taking any pains to be satisfied whether he was or was not in the right, he retired immediately into Milford haven, which exposed the Barbadoes fleet in such a manner, that many of them were lost, two East-India ships were taken at sea, and three more were either burnt or taken near Galway in Ireland, by some privateers acting under king James's commission. These five ships, bishop Burnet tells us, were worth a million, and therefore we need not be surpris'd, that by the loss of them, which affected so many people, a great clamour was rais'd among the merchants.

The campaign in Flanders being over, king William returned to England, and on the eleventh of October arrived at Kensington, and immediately after published a proclamation, by which he dissolved the parliament, and called a new one, which was to meet on the twenty-second of November following. About the same time Sir George Rooke received orders to proceed with all expedition to the fleet, with the squadron under his command. He was on this occasion declared admiral of the white, and admiral and commander in chief of his majesty's ships in the Mediterranean, with instructions to protect the English commerce, to annoy the enemy, and, in case they pass'd the Streights, to follow them with the whole fleet, or a strength proportionable to theirs.

Sir George parted from the English coast on the sixteenth of October, 1695, with seventy sail of men of war and merchantmen under his command, and in thirty-eight days arriv'd safely in the bay of Cadiz. There he applied himself with the utmost diligence to the securing the safe return of the Turkey fleet, and protecting every where the English trade from the danger to which it stood expos'd from the French privateers; but, as to the latter part of his instructions, he found himself scarce in a capacity to carry them into execution, the force he had in the port of Cadiz being much inferior to the strength he knew the French had at Toulon, and therefore he was oblig'd to provide the best he could for his security there: many of the great English ships, and most of the Dutch under his command, being so foul, that it would have been unsafe to have hazarded them in an engagement. In this situation Sir George Rooke remained

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maintained for some time, and then received his majesty's commands to return for England.

We now enter on the transactions of 1696, in which both the French and the allies were resolved to exert their utmost force for continuing the war, though they were both heartily weary of it, and had sufficient reasons to wish for peace. At home our party-debates ran higher than ever. The Tories were formed into a fixed opposition to government, making it a capital point of patriotism to perplex public affairs; the English merchants were exceedingly uneasy at the losses they had sustained in trade, and all Scotland was in confusion on account of the opposition given to the project they had formed for establishing an East-India company, and making also a settlement in the West-Indies at Darien.

While the parliament directed its councils to the finding out remedies proper for so many evils, the French were contriving how they might turn our domestic disputes most to their own advantage, and at last projected the means to set on foot a conspiracy here, while they were preparing there all things necessary for the making a formidable invasion. Thus at the close of the war they made, as their policy commonly is, vast efforts, as well in hopes of carrying their point, as to justify their departure from it, in case, after so bold an attempt, they should meet with fresh disappointments.

It was pretty early in the winter that the French king formed the project of invading England, and by this means restoring king James. But the first suspicion, that was had here of his design, arose from his making a grand promotion of sea-officers, and amongst them no fewer than twenty captains of men of war; which looked as if they did not intend to let their fleets be idle, as they had done for two years past: and what greatly alarmed the nation was, that we had no considerable naval force at home to oppose them. Their greatest preparations being at Toulon, confounded our politicians not a little, and served to keep their attention fixed at the Mediterranean.

But in the beginning of January, 1696, the French scheme began to unfold itself, by the early sailing of a fleet to Dunkirk. It was usual for them to send a large number of victuallers thither in the winter, escorted by a small squadron of men of war. But the fleet now sent was much greater than formerly, and the squadron, that sailed with it as an escort, consisted of seventeen men of war. Soon after this an army of twenty thousand men, drawn with all possible

possible silence from the adjacent garrisons, was brought down to the sea-coasts, and five hundred transports provided with extraordinary diligence and secrecy, in order to carry over the greater part of them to England, while most of our large ships were laid up, and the rest either in the Mediterranean, or refitting here, in order to be sent thither. So that hitherto all things seemed to favour the views of the enemy, who were not a little rejoiced at an accident that happened at Gillingham in the river Medway, where the Royal Sovereign took fire, and was totally consumed, though without prejudice to any of the ships which lay near her.

It was the intention of Louis XIV. to have embarked at Dunkirk 16,000 men, who were to be commanded by king James in person, and under him by the marquis of Harcourt, then lieutenant-general, and afterwards marshal of France. This embarkation was to have been escorted by two strong squadrons under the marquis of Nesmond and John du Bart, all which might have been executed, if bad weather and contrary winds had not prevented it. In the mean time the duke of Berwick, Sir George Berkeley, and some other experienced officers, were sent over to dispose the malcontents here to perform their part in this undertaking. But, when all things were supposed to be in perfect readiness, the whole scheme was happily discovered, and on the twenty-fourth of February the king came to the house of peers, sent for the commons, and in a set speech informed them of the whole affair.

At the same time orders were given for assembling, with the utmost diligence, the greatest number of ships possible; and admiral Russel, after having assisted at a board of admiralty, where proper instructions were prepared, went down to Deal, and on the twenty-fifth of February hoisted the Union flag on board the Victory, and in a few days stood over to the coast of France, having under his command upwards of fifty ships of the line, English and Dutch, at a time when the French believed we could not assemble ten; which extraordinary expedition confounded all their designs, and rendered the invasion absolutely impracticable, after all the pains and expence that had been for some months employed about it.

On the twenty-eighth of February the admiral came to an anchor off Gravelin, with part of the fleet, and lord Berkeley, with a squadron under his command, lay between him and Dunkirk. As the admiral passed by Calais, he perceived the harbour crowded with all sorts of small vessels

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for the intended embarkation of the French troops. As for the seventeen men of war, which were to have escorted them, thirteen were run in as close to the pier of Dunkirk as possible, as proved to be all large ships. Sir Cloudesley Shovel, with some other experienced officers, were sent to look upon them, to see if there was any possibility of burning them or not; but, after a long consultation with Mr. Meesters and the engineers, it was declared to be impracticable, and thereupon the admiral determined to quit that station, and return into Dover road, leaving a Squadron under Sir Cloudesley Shovel to watch the motions of the enemy.

This Squadron continued cruizing in the Downs all the month of March, without attempting any thing; but, towards the end of the month, being reinforced with several Dutch ships, fire-ships, and bomb-vessels, he received orders, on the second of April, to undertake the bombardment of Calais; in pursuance of which, he immediately came before that town, and made the necessary dispositions for executing those orders. On the third the bomb-vessels began to fire about noon, and continued firing till evening, in which time above three hundred bombs and carcasses fell either in the town, or among the ships in the harbour, with such effect as to kindle fires in both, and must certainly have done a great deal of mischief. But as most of the bomb-vessels and brigantines had their rigging destroyed, and their mortars dismounted, (the wind too blowing very hard from the shore), Sir Cloudesley Shovel, having left a Squadron to keep in the French men of war at Dunkirk, returned into the Downs, where he received orders on the 11th of April to join the grand fleet at Spithead. But, before he could execute these orders, Sir George Rooke arrived in the Downs with his fleet from the Straights, and took upon him the command.

All the views of France were now totally disappointed, and the English strength at sea became so formidable, that they were able to undertake little or nothing against it. Yet, to keep up the spirits of the people, and in some measure to embarrass the English and Dutch, orders were dispatched to the Toulon Squadron, directing that it should immediately sail into the ocean; and at the same time John du Bart was commanded to proceed out of the harbour of Dunkirk, with eight men of war and two fire-ships. In the mean time Sir George Rooke arrived at Spithead, after having detached several of his cleanest ships for particular services, receiving there a commission appointing him

admiral

admiral and commander in chief of the fleet. His instructions were, to lye in such a station as should be most proper for preventing the Toulon Squadron from getting into any of the ports of France; upon meeting them he was to fight, and, upon his receiving notice of their getting into any port, he was to use his utmost endeavours to burn or destroy them there; or, in case he had intelligence of their getting safe to Brest, he was then to return to Torbay, and to remain there till he should receive orders.

On the fourteenth of May, 1696, Sir George Rooke with the fleet, being on the coast of France, received certain intelligence, that the Toulon Squadron was safely arrived at Brest. Upon this he held a council of war, wherein it was resolved, that, as many of the largest ships in the fleet were very foul, and the whole much inferior to the combined squadrons in the harbour of Brest, they should immediately pursue the last part of their instructions, and return to Torbay; which accordingly they did, and there the fleet was soon reinforced to the number in the whole of one hundred and fifteen sail, of which no fewer than eighty-five were of the line of battle.

A resolution having been taken in the privy-council as to the bombarding the French coasts, orders were sent to Sir George Rooke, towards the latter-end of the month of May, to return to the service of the board as one of the lords of the admiralty, it being intended to intrust the fleet, or at least such a part of it as should be employed in the before-mentioned service, to the care of the lord Berkeley of Stratton, who had behaved so gallantly the year before. These orders reached Sir George Rooke on the twenty-seventh of May, 1696; but, before he returned to London, he received advice, that seventy French men of war were actually lying in Camaret-bay, with three blue flags, and a white one flying, of which he gave advice to the admiralty, on his coming to town.

Lord Berkeley hoisted the union flag on board the *Britannia* on the third of June, 1696, the same day that Sir George Rooke set out for London; but he soon found, that, notwithstanding his commission, he was very far from having the command of the fleet: for having proposed to a council of war the attacking of Brest, which was the project approved by the privy-council, they resolved that it was in their opinion impracticable, as on the sixteenth of the same month they did the same as to the proposal of Sir George Rooke, before-mentioned. His lordship being determined,

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however, not to remain any longer inactive, sailed on the twenty-fourth for the French coast. On the third of July the admiral sent the Burford and the Newcastle, with a fire-ship, to the island of Groy, with orders to land. On the fourth the fleet came to an anchor about two leagues from Belleisle, and barges and pinnaces were immediately manned, in order to make a descent upon Hoat, one of the islands called Cardinals, which they performed, ravaged the whole island, and burnt the only town that was upon it: they did the same in the island of Hodicke, and brought off a great number of cattle. On the fifth a great reinforcement was sent to captain Fitzpatrick, who had landed in the island of Groy, where they destroyed twenty villages, containing about thirteen hundred houses, took a ship from Newfoundland, and twenty small vessels, and carried off about fifteen hundred horses and black cattle.

The same day Sir Martin Beckman, who was sent to bombard the town of St. Martin's in the isle of Rhee, performed his commission very exactly, throwing, in the space of one night, two thousand two hundred and thirty bombs and carcasses into the place, by which the best part of the town was entirely burnt down, with all their warehouses, and the goods contained in them, notwithstanding the place was very well fortified, and our squadrons sustained a very warm fire all the time. On the seventh the same squadron, which consisted but of ten men of war, bombarded Ollonne, and in the space of a night threw into it almost two thousand bombs and carcasses, which had such an effect, that the town was seen to be on fire in fifteen places at once. After this the admiral, not finding it convenient to land on Belleisle, continued to alarm the French coast till towards the latter end of the month; and then, through want of provisions, and the weakness of the fleet, occasioned by making several detachments, he found himself under a necessity of returning to Spithead.

The French affected to ridicule these, as they had done former bombardments, and the same humour seems very unaccountably to have possessed abundance of people at home. Even Mr. Burchet, speaking of my lord Berkeley's exploits, calls them LITTLE ENTERPRISES; and yet nothing is more certain, than that the French were grievously affected by them, their country being kept in a perpetual alarm. This the reader will easily discern, when he is told, that between Brest and Goulet there were forty batteries erected on one side, and twenty-five on the other; that on these batteries were mounted nineteen mortars, and four hundred

hundred and eighty-nine pieces of heavy cannon, and above sixty thousand men, quartered up and down on the coasts to prevent the bad effects of an invasion. If France had been under no concern, such precautions would never have been taken; if she was, the bombardment that spread this terror must not have been such slight things as some writers endeavour to represent them, or, if they were, what were those whom they so frightened?

It is agreed on all hands, that the care taken this year of our trade was so great, that the orders of the lords of the admiralty were so well executed, that our several fleets of merchantmen returned safe, notwithstanding the French made it their principal business to intercept them. In two instances, indeed, we were somewhat unlucky: the first was in Newfoundland, of which an account will be given elsewhere; the other in respect to the Dunkirk Squadron, of which the following is a very exact account: In the month of May, 1696, rear-admiral Benbow had the command given him of a small number of ships, with orders to prevent Du Bart from getting out of that port. When the rear admiral arrived before it, he found the French Squadron ready to sail, and his own too small to guard both the east and the north channel. He did, however, his best; but the weather proving hazy, and he cruising before the north channel, Du Bart gave him the slip, and, having a fair wind, was quickly out of reach.

Rear-admiral Benbow resolved, however, to pursue him, and did so; but the Dutch, for want of proper orders, refused to follow him. Du Bart in the mean time executed his scheme, which was to attack the Dutch Baltic fleet in their return home, which he performed on the eighth of June. This fleet consisted of upwards of one hundred sail of merchant ships under an escort of five frigates. Du Bart took all the men of war, and at least half the merchantmen. In the height of this victory the outward bound Baltic fleet appeared in sight under an escort of thirteen men of war, who immediately attacked Du Bart, and forced him to burn four of the men of war, and thirty-five merchantmen, and to turn the fifth frigate, which had on board the crews of all the rest, adrift, so that she was retaken; but, according to the French accounts, he came back after all with fifteen prizes into the road of Dunkirk.

Rear admiral Benbow convoyed afterwards, with his Squadron, our northern fleet to Gottenburgh, and thence proceeded to Hamburgh; and, returning homewards in the month of September, he had sight of Du Bart's Squadron,

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dron, and chased him till he saw it was to no purpose: he had the satisfaction soon after of joining four English and eleven Dutch East-India ships, which came north-about, and thereby escaped the French privateers, and luckily enough for them, even Du Bart himself, though they must have had fight of his squadron.

Thus ended the naval operations of this year in this part of the world, where we certainly disappointed all the French designs, did them no small damage on their coasts, kept the best part of their fleets blocked up in their harbours, and protected our trade better than it had been for many years past; yet in the next session of parliament, which began on the 20th of October, 1696, one of the first things the house of commons did was to enter into an inquiry into the late miscarriages of the fleet, and this exposed Sir George Rooke and Sir Cloudesley Shovel to several strict examinations, in which, however, nothing appearing that could be construed either an omission or breach of duty, the affair dropped, and the house afterwards voted the sum of 2,372,197*l.* for the maintenance of forty thousand seamen, and of the two marine regiments, and for the ordinary of the navy, and the charge of the registry of the seamen.

We are now arrived at that period of our history, which naturally leads us to take a view of what passed in the West-Indies from the beginning of the war to the close of the next year 1697; and, as our reasons for treating this subject at once have been already given at large, we shall enter upon it here without farther introduction. The revolution took place in our colonies as easily as it had done at home, on a principle which was very emphatically expressed by one of our governors, who, when he was summoned by a man of war to submit to king William and queen Mary, very sensibly answered, that, if they were king and queen at Whitehall, they should be so there, and proclaimed them immediately.

By this means the plantations were secured against every thing except foreign invasions, and to these they were not long exposed, since, towards the end of the year 1689, orders were given for fitting out a squadron for Barbadoes and the Leeward Islands, under the command of captain Lawrence Wright, who was directed to sail as soon as possible, and had very ample instructions given him. It fell out, however, in consequence of abundance of unlucky accidents, that he did not leave Plymouth till the eighth of March following. Arriving in Carlisle-bay on the eleventh

of May, 1690, he found all things there in a better posture than he expected ; and towards the latter end of the month, when his men were pretty well recovered of the scurvy, he sailed for the Leeward Islands, in order to assist general Codrington, who was preparing for an expedition against St. Christopher's, where we had been joint possessors with the French, who had now driven us out, and had made themselves masters of the whole island.

The commodore sailed on the third of June to Montserrat, where he was joined by the general from Antigua with such a force as the English colonies could supply. Thence they proceeded together to Nevis, in consequence of a resolution taken in a council of war, to make a descent as soon as possible upon the island of St. Christopher. On the twenty-third Sir Timothy Thornhill landed, with five hundred men, to the east of Frigot's bay, and, having twice engaged and routed the French, marched on to Basseterre, and in the way beat the French forces a third time. This broke the spirits of the enemy to such a degree, that they gave general Codrington no disturbance, when he landed with three thousand men, and marched the same way. The fleet at the same time sailed into the road, in order to batter the town and forts, while the general attacked it by land. The French, however, saved them the trouble, by abandoning the place, and setting it on fire. In about three weeks time the whole island was reduced ; and, the season of hurricanes coming on, the fleet returned triumphantly to Barbadoes, and the design of making farther conquests was postponed to another year.

In the month of January, 1691, the commodore received fresh orders from England, directing him to stay some time longer in America ; upon which he took up six of the largest merchant-ships, turned them into men of war, and on the twelfth of February sailed for the Leeward Islands. There an unhappy difference sprung up between him and general Codrington, which ruined the expedition ; for though in the month of April they landed in Marigallante, and in a great measure ruined that settlement, from whence they proceeded to Guadalupe, and remained there some time ; yet, on the news of a French Squadron's being in the neighbourhood, they hastily re-embarked their forces, and resolved to abandon the enterprise, at the same time almost that the French had determined to abandon the island. Soon after this, commodore Wright returned to Barbadoes, where finding his conduct universally disliked, he, under pretence of sickness, quitted the command, having first separated
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the squadron to different services; and soon after returned, with very little reputation, to England.

The same year some other expeditions were undertaken against the French in this part of the world. The colony of New-England found itself so liable to disturbance from the settlement the French had at Port-Royal, in Nova-Scotia, that it was resolved to attack it, and that too as soon as the war broke out. With this view, a considerable fleet, with seven hundred land-forces on board, was fitted out under the command of Sir William Phips, who sailed from Nantascot on the twenty-eighth of April, 1690, and by the middle of the next month he completed his design, and reduced Port-Royal and the adjacent settlements under the dominion of the English. His quick success in this, induced the colony to undertake an enterprize of greater importance, which was no less than the reduction of Quebec, the capital of the French settlements in Canada. This was certainly a well laid scheme, and if it had been executed with equal prudence, must have turned very highly to the advantage of the English, as experience hath convinced us since. The colony shewed on this occasion a very extraordinary measure of public spirit, by raising no less than two thousand men, whom they embarked on board their fleet of thirty-two sail, great and small, without demanding or expecting any assistance from hence.

With this force Sir William Phips sailed from Hull, near Boston, on the ninth of August, and arrived about the beginning of September, before the river of Canada, but was there unluckily, by contrary winds, detained in such a manner, as that it was three weeks before they arrived at Quebec. This gave the count de Frontenac, governor there for the French, an opportunity to prepare for his defence, and of drawing all the strength of the colony to Quebec, which Sir William Phips expected would have been divided, by an army marching over land and attacking Mount-Royal fort, at the same time that he fell upon the city. This army was to consist of a thousand men from New-York, Connecticut, and Plymouth colonies, and fifteen hundred Iroquois: The English marched as far as the great lake of Canada, but not finding canoes ready for them to pass it, and the Indians not joining them according to their agreement, they returned; by which unfortunate miscarriage count Frontenac had no need to make any detachments for the security of Mount-Royal.

Sir William summoned the count to surrender the city, but received a very insolent and haughty answer. On the eighth

eighth of October the English landed, under lieutenant-general Whalley, to the number of fourteen hundred, for to that number they were now reduced by the small-pox, and other diseases. In the mean while, Sir William brought his ships to bear on the west end of the city, waiting till general Whalley should begin the assault. But this gentleman hearing that count de Frontenac had four thousand men within, and was provided to make a vigorous defence, notwithstanding the entreaties of the English soldiers to the contrary, resolved immediately to embark. Sir William expecting the signal for their attacking the town on the east side, sent a messenger on shore to know the reasons of their not giving the assault; which when he understood, and saw many of the men were almost frozen to death, to which we may add, the colonel and others ill of the small-pox, he ordered them on board to refresh themselves; and calling a council of war, it was therein resolved to return. Thus ended this fruitless expedition, which cost the colony of New-England so large a sum of money, and as to which mighty expectations had been raised.

In the latter-end of October, 1691, captain Ralph Wren, who then commanded the Norwich, had orders to sail with that and two other fourth rates to Barbadoes, and from thence to the Leeward Islands, where he was to take upon him the command of such ships as were in that station; and his general instructions were, to secure the trade and plantations, and to annoy the enemy. He sailed from Plymouth on the twelfth of December, and on the sixteenth of the next month arrived in Carlisle-bay, in Barbadoes. He had not been there long, before he was informed, that the French had a stout squadron at sea, which had taken the Jersey, that was to have been added to commodore Wren's squadron.

Upon this news the governor and council of Barbadoes agreed, that two large merchant-ships should be fitted out, in order to join the five men of war already under the commodore; and that with these he should attack the French squadron, though it consisted of nine sail. Accordingly the commodore quitted Barbadoes on the thirteenth of January, and cruized for about a week, but without seeing the enemy, and then returned. Another council of war being held, it was therein resolved, that the commodore should proceed with his squadron, and the merchant ships that were then ready, for the Leeward Islands. This he accordingly performed, and on the twenty-first of February he fell in with a French squadron of eighteen men of war, from sixty to forty

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forty guns. They laboured all night to engage him, and about eight in the morning, on the twenty-second, the enemy having a fresh gale, and most of the commodore's squadron not a breath of wind, four of their ships bore down upon the Mary, commanded by lieutenant Wyat, who defended her very well, until the commodore could come to her assistance. At the same time, the Mordaunt, commanded by captain Boteler, with one of the hired ships, and the England frigate, commanded by captain S ubbs, were warmly engaged in the very midst of the enemy; but they cleared themselves with all the bravery imaginable. The commodore finding the great disproportion as to the strength, his squadron consisting then but of seven ships, and that the merchant ships, which were under his care, had taken the proper and usual methods for their own security, he, after a warm engagement of four hours, wisely provided for the safety of the ships of war, under his command, by bearing away. He did this, however, with so little fail, that he secured the three ships which the enemy gave chase to; and they, as much tired of his company, readily stood away from him. Thus, by a due mixture of courage and conduct, the commodore saved his small squadron, and gained an high reputation, this having been reckoned one of the best-conducted actions of the war.

The government being very sensible of the inconveniences resulting from their want of having a sufficient force in the West-Indies, resolved, in the year 1692, to put an end to the complaints that had been made from most of the colonies on that subject, by sending a powerful fleet thither, under Sir Francis Wheeler, as gallant and as judicious an officer as any in the navy. The squadron he was to command consisted of twelve men of war, besides smaller vessels; and he was likewise empowered to take under his orders such ships of war as he should find in that part of the world. He had under his convoy also a certain number of transports, with fifteen hundred land-troops, and had assurance given him, that he should find another body of very good troops ready assembled in Barbadoes; and, in conjunction with them, he had instructions to fall upon some of the French settlements, which it was judged very practicable for him to reduce.

Sir Francis left our coasts in the beginning of January, and on the twenty-sixth of the same month touched at Madeira, from whence he sailed for Barbadoes, and arrived there on the first of March. There it was unanimously

resolved, in a full council of war, that Martinico should be the place attacked; and advice was sent to general Codrington of the arrival of the squadron, that he might draw together the forces of the Leeward Islands, in order to join the regiments brought from England, and the troops (about eight hundred foot) raised in Barbadoes; to which Sir Francis Wheeler offered to join another regiment, composed of seamen, to be commanded as colonel by him in person.

April the fifteenth, 1693, the squadron, with all these troops on board, arrived at Cul de Sac Royal, in Martinico; but, instead of proceeding to perform without delay what they came thither about, it was resolved, in a council of war, held on the twentieth, that the men should reimbarc, and the squadron sail to Dominica, there to take in water, and to give the men, who were very sickly, an opportunity of refreshing themselves. As the commodore was very sensible this manner of acting would be indifferently relished at home, he desired and insisted, that every member of the council of war should give his opinion in writing; by which it appears, scarce any but Sir Francis Wheeler, and lieutenant-colonel Colt, were for landing and acting vigorously.

Sir Francis, towards the latter end of May, failed for New-England, and arrived at Boston on the twelfth of June. He immediately proposed to Sir William Phips, then governor, the attacking Quebec a second time. But though nothing could have been more agreeable to that brave and public-spirited man, yet, as circumstances then stood, he could not close with it. Such an expedition required a strength of four thousand men at least, and these the governor could not possibly draw together by the beginning of July, which was the very latest a fleet that was to be thus employed could fail; and therefore this grand design appearing every way impracticable, was dropt, even by those two men, who of all others, had it most at heart. This disappointment determined the commodore to quit Boston as soon as possible; and therefore, on the third of August, he left that place, and proceeded for Newfoundland, resolving to attempt something there worthy of the force with which he left England, and the honour allowed him of carrying the union flag, from a view to the advantages which, it was not doubted, would result to the nation from his expedition.

On the eighteenth of August he arrived at Placentia, and found the enemy much stronger there than he expected;
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for, in the first place, the town was well fortified; next, there were in the harbour several stout privateers, the haven itself excellently provided with batteries, heavy cannon, bombs, &c. with at least two thousand soldiers and inhabitants, well disciplined, and most of them old buccaneers. Sir Francis, however, was not to be discouraged; he called a council of war, laid down the method in which the place ought to be attacked at once by sea and land, and took upon himself the going in with the men of war to batter the great fort, which was the most dangerous part of the undertaking. However, as there were eleven land to six sea officers in this council, they resolved the whole to be impossible and impracticable. Sir Francis Wheeler was exceedingly chagrined at this new disgrace; but, to shew how little this inactivity agreed with his disposition, he gave orders for destroying the French fishery at St. Peters; which was done effectually, and so that it was not soon or very easily recovered.

On the twenty-eighth of August he sailed from the bay of Bulls in Newfoundland for England, where he did not arrive till the eighteenth of October following, his ships in a bad, and his men in a much worse condition, so that they were scarce able to navigate them. Yet, as unfortunate as this expedition proved from first to last, Sir Francis never fell under the least censure. The accounts he transmitted home, joined to the letters from the respective colonies, and the extracts of proceedings in councils of war, justified him so clearly, and set his courage and conduct in so fair a light, that, when he arrived at Portsmouth, he had the satisfaction of finding a commission, appointing him rear-admiral of the red; a preferment, which, as it was obtained purely by merit, so it never exposed him to envy.—But to look now to another coast.

The royal African company, finding themselves much disturbed in their trade by the new settlements made by the French in the mouth of the river Senegal, and having exact intelligence of the schemes concerted by that nation for extending their own trade in those parts, and destroying ours, resolved to exert the great force they had in Guinea, to secure themselves from all these apprehensions, by attacking the enemy immediately, in order, if possible, to the disposing of their settlements, before they could gain any intelligence of the design. If, on their forming this project, they had applied themselves to the administration, and had either procured assistance for the execution of it, or assurance of having their conquests protected, they had cer-

tainly carried their point, and the French been beaten out of that advantageous trade, perhaps for ever.

But they were at this time so much afraid of the enemy's penetrating whatever was transacted at the secretary's office, that the African company resolved to risk this understanding, without communicating their secret to any body. With this view they sent orders to John Booker, Esq; then their agent-general in Guinea, to attempt, if he found it practicable, the execution of the design which they had formed; and, that he might be satisfied as to the authority upon which he acted, they sent him a copy of the commission they had received from the king and queen, empowering them to commit hostilities, and annoy the enemy in any places within their jurisdiction.

Mr. Booker, upon receipt of these letters and this commission, immediately applied himself to execute what the company directed, and in the month of December, 1692, having drawn together a sufficient force, he embarked them on board the company's ships and sloops, and, sailing from the river of Gambie, arrived in the mouth of the river of Senegal on new-year's-day, 1693. Having with some difficulty got over the bar, he made the necessary dispositions for attacking Fort Bourbon; but the governor, M. Dumoulin, knowing his own condition best, and that he must soon be compelled to surrender, sent to Mr. Booker to demand terms, upon which he offered immediately to give up the place. This proposition was accepted, and the English that evening entered into possession of the fort, which the French had held upwards of fifty years.

Mr. Booker continued here till the twenty-fifth of the same month, and then embarked his forces in order to make a descent on the island of Goree, the only place which remained to the French in Guinea. He arrived there on the first of February; and, after alarming the enemy till the fourth, he in the night landed an hundred men under the old fort, from whence he advanced to attack the new, called the fort of St. Michael, a well-fortified place, furnished with twenty-eight pieces of cannon. They made some shew of defending themselves at first; but, being indifferently provided with ammunition, about noon they desired to capitulate, and on the eighth marched out with all military honours, and were carried to James-island, in virtue of the articles signed by Mr. Booker; from whence they were to be transported into Europe on board the company's shipping, but at their own expence.

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Affairs in the West-Indies went all this time extremely ill: the French destroyed our trade by their privateers, disturbed our settlements continually, and frequently made descents upon them, particularly on Jamaica, where they committed great havock, and enriched themselves exceedingly at our expence. The few ships of war we had in those parts were so far from being able to defend our colonies effectually, that several of them were taken by the enemy; and, in short, things were in so bad a way, that the administration at home thought the loss of our colonies no improbable thing, as appears by the instructions given to the commodores of the squadrons, and the commanders in chief of the land-troops. On the other hand, our good allies the Spaniards were no less, or rather were still more distressed by the enemy than we; all trade between their colonies was destroyed, their coasts plundered, and every thing subject to the mercy of the privateers, that were equipped in whole squadrons from the French settlements in Hispaniola.

About the beginning of the year 1694 some proposals were laid before the council, for our undertaking, in conjunction with the Spaniards, to drive the French out of the island of Hispaniola. To this there was at first some attention given; but afterwards it being represented, that the Spaniards, at the bottom, were not either willing or able to join with us in any such undertaking, it was laid aside. Other business intervening, it does not appear either the council or the board of admiralty thought any more of the plantations till towards the latter end of the year, when they were alarmed with the account of a brisk attempt made upon Jamaica by M. DuCasse, the French governor of St. Domingo. He sailed in the month of June with three men of war, and twenty-three transports, having on board fifteen hundred men for the coast of Jamaica, where they arrived on the twenty-fourth of the same month, and made a descent on Port-Morant, which they found abandoned, and, marching from thence up the country, they plundered, burnt, and destroyed whatever they met, and carried off money and effects to a very great value. But they soon found, that the fine schemes of conquest they had formed to themselves were altogether impracticable, and that the only thing they had to do was to return with what they had got. The people of Jamaica, when they found their property in danger, assembled readily for its defence, and behaved themselves so well in an engagement with the French, that it contributed not a little to make the latter for the present

sent sick of this design, and to hinder them from resuming any project like it afterwards.

The complaints that were sent home on this affair, joined to the representations of other colonies, the remonstrances of the West-India merchants, and the fear of a parliamentary inquiry, obliged the ministry to resume this long-neglected subject, and to think seriously of sending to America such a force, and under such officers, as might do more than had hitherto been done. With this view they directed, that a squadron of five sail of men of war, and two fire-ships, with twelve transport-vessels, should be got ready, with the utmost diligence and secrecy, to rendezvous at Plymouth in the beginning of the year 1695. The command of the squadron was given to captain Robert Wilmot, an officer of great reputation and experience. The command of the land-forces was intrusted with colonel Luke Lillingston, and that they might be the more subject to orders, and better directed, they were reduced into a single regiment, consisting of twelve hundred men; and, besides these, there were spare arms for another regiment, and in short every thing else provided that could be desired for securing the success of such an expedition; and all this was done with such secrecy, that even the officers who were to be employed had no distinct knowledge of the design they were to execute, but only knew in general, that they were to be sent to the West-Indies to protect our plantations, and annoy the enemy.

When all things were ready, the commodore had his instructions given him sealed up, with orders not to open them till he arrived in the latitude of forty degrees. Instructions were also given to colonel Lillingston for the regulating of his conduct, and for giving him a clear view of the extent of his command. Before they set out for Plymouth, both the commodore and the colonel were separately exhorted to be extremely careful in keeping up a right correspondence, because that hitherto all our expeditions had suffered more through the weakness and misunderstandings of our own commanders, than through any extraordinary courage or conduct shewn by the enemy; and, that this might be the easier, their commands were made as distinct as, the nature of the service considered, it was possible.

The squadron sailed from Plymouth the latter end of the month of January; but, before they were in a condition to act, the commanders differed, and all things were in confusion. Colonel Lillingston in his account asserts, that the commodore opened his instructions in an unwarrantable manner,

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manner, and that, after he had done so, he proposed to the colonel to take what care they could of themselves at the expence of the public service. The colonel rejected this offer as became a man of honour, and the commodore thenceforth prepared to execute his scheme in spite of all the colonel could do to prevent him.

Towards the latter end of March, 1695, they arrived before the city of St. Domingo, where the Spanish governor, on the receipt of the King of Spain's letters, promised them all the assistance in his power; but how he performed this promise, is not very well agreed. Mr. secretary Burchet in his history charges him with creating unnecessary delays, which were of great prejudice to the expedition. On the other hand colonel Lillingston asserts, that the Spanish governor behaved in every respect like a man of honour, concerted with him the measures necessary to be taken for attacking Cape François, and performed all he undertook with the utmost punctuality. It must be observed, that the force of the allies then in Hispaniola was such, as that the ruin of the French settlements might have been well expected from it. The Spanish governor marched one thousand seven hundred; the commander of our land-forces was able to debark about twelve hundred men; the commodore promised to join his force with five hundred seamen; the Spaniards actually added three men of war to our fleet, and, to prevent any disputes about the command, the Spanish admiral took down his flag.

The first thing that was attempted was the ruin of the French settlement at Cape François. When the fleet was arrived within sight of the place, the commodore absolutely prescribed the place where the land-forces should go on shore; and though colonel Lillingston represented to him, that it was extremely hard to oblige the troops to a march of five leagues and a half, when, by only rowing one league and a half, the boats might land them close by the fort which they were to attack, the commodore gave him barely the hearing, but pursued his own project, and they soon discovered with what view.

The English and Spanish troops joined, and continued their fatiguing march till they arrived within five miles of Fort St. Francis, where they saw the French blow up their works, and abandon the place. When the troops came up, they were surprized to find the English colours hoisted on the fort, and a single seaman left to attend them: but the mystery was soon explained; commodore Wilmot no sooner saw the place abandoned, than he rowed to shore with five hundred

hundred men, entered it, and carried off all that was worth carrying. This disgusted, as it well might, both the English and Spanish forces; and, if they had not been composed of veteran troops, and men who had a great respect for their officers, a mutiny must have followed, which would have destroyed the whole design. But colonel Lillingston pacified them as well as he could, by promising to take care they should not be treated in this manner for the future, if it was in his power to prevent it.

After this extraordinary exploit it was resolved to attempt Port de Paix, where M. Ducasse commanded in person; but he quitted the place, leaving in it a garrison of six hundred men.

On the first of June the English and Spanish troops marched by two different roads toward the place they were to attack, and the squadron sailed thither at the same time, but with this extraordinary circumstance, that, if the Spanish admiral out of pure humanity had not left some transports to take in our sick men, they must have been left to perish; for commodore Wilmot had something else in his head than to take care of invalids, and had therefore sailed as soon as the resolution was taken. The march was very fatiguing; it took up sixteen days before they arrived in sight of Port de Paix, and then there was a great deal of time lost in getting the artillery and ammunition on shore. At last this too was performed, and the siege of the place was begun in a regular manner: and the commodore, to shew his willingness to assist, landed a great body of seamen, and invested it on the other side.

On the third of July, the breach being practicable, and colonel Lillingston employed in making the necessary dispositions for a general storm, the enemy took a resolution of deserting the place, and forcing their way through the quarter of the commodore. Their force consisted of about five hundred and thirty men, of which about one hundred and fifty were negroes, but well armed and disciplined. Their greatest difficulty was to carry off their women, children, and the most valuable part of their effects. The latter they packed up first, and put them in small bundles on the backs of the women, who, with the children, marched in the front, under a good escort, while three hundred men fell into the quarters of our seamen, and, by exposing themselves to a very brisk fire, which lasted for a long time, gave the rest an opportunity to retreat. The affair was conducted with equal resolution and address; but not without a very considerable loss.

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Colonel Lillingston, as soon as he had heard the firing, guessed at the cause, and immediately detached his brother, with two hundred and fifty men, to support the seamen. When major Lillingston arrived, the affair was over, and he marched directly to take possession of the fort, in order to secure whatever the French had left behind them; and having posted centinels every where, and put the rest of his men under arms, he thought that all was safe, but in this he was mistaken; commodore Wilmot, at the head of his whole corps of seamen, followed him instantly. As soon as the commodore came up to him, he clapped his hand upon his shoulder, with this familiar salutation, "Now, major, I am stronger than you." After which he removed his guards, broke open the store-houses, and carried off every thing that was worth taking, "with a dexterity," says colonel Lillingston, "very natural to seamen."

This kind of proceeding was not like to produce much good; the commodore offered to carry the sick men to Jamaica, and to leave colonel Lillingston to attempt, in conjunction with the Spaniards, the taking Leogane and Petit-Guavas; but they were weary of such kind of treatment, and had so many men disabled by the unnecessary hardships to which they had been exposed, that it was resolved, in a council of war, not to prosecute either of the designs before-mentioned; but to demolish the fort, ruin the adjacent country, carry off the artillery they had taken, and sail with all the English forces to Jamaica.

To this the Spanish governor consented, because he saw the impossibility of their performing, in the condition they were in, what they had projected; and of this he was the better judge, because he had an exact account of the French forces that M. Ducasse was assembling at Cul de Sac, and with which, it was expected, he would march to give them battle, as having no other means of preserving the French settlements; though in this there was a great deal of danger.

The confederate army, in sixty days, ruined their plantations for a hundred miles round, carried off a thousand negroes, demolished two strong forts, wherein they took one hundred and forty pieces of cannon, with a vast quantity of all sorts of ammunition and naval stores; so that there seems to be no reason to think colonel Lillingston exaggerated, who computes the loss of the French at 200,000l.

The account given us of this affair by French writers, agrees pretty well with our own. It is true, that they give great

great commendations to M. Ducaffe, governor of St. Domingo, who was certainly gallant men, but who had no opportunity of shewing his bravery on this occasion. In the main, however, they agree, that misunderstandings between the allies proved the ruin of the whole affair; and that nothing could amaze, and at the same overjoy people more, than the news of the English troops embarking for Jamaica did M. Ducaffe and his army. The same writers intimate, that the colony of Jamaica was much wanting to itself, in not laying hold of this opportunity to make a descent on the French settlements, in revenge for the mischiefs done them by the inhabitants of this colony, under M. Ducaffe, the year before, which, if they had done, in all probability the French must have been driven out of Hispaniola; and, as things then stood, there is no great reason to doubt the Spaniards would have been well pleased to have seen an English colony settled in their room.

But all such views for the glory of England were effectually defeated by the sailing away of the English squadron from Hispaniola, on the twenty-third of July, 1695, with the land-forces on board. The governor and people of Jamaica gave the commodore a very indifferent reception, having had previous intelligence of his behaviour through the whole affair. Several councils of war were held, to consider how practicable a second attempt might be in conjunction with a considerable force from this island. But, after much deliberation, this design also came to nothing. The commodore, in the mean time, followed his business closely; that is to say, he converted the plunder he had taken into money, which he vested in all sorts of merchandize fit for the English market, and took in the goods privately on the back of the island. When this was done, his next care was to get back to England with his squadron, with the great wealth he had amassed on board of it. He left Jamaica on the third of September, 1695, but met with a very bad passage.

On the shoals of Florida he lost a fourth rate man of war in a manner which gave great cause to suspect he never intended to bring her home. After this an epidemic distemper broke out on board the ships, which carried off a multitude of sailors and soldiers, and not a few officers, among whom was the commodore himself. This disease prevailed at last to such a degree, that there was scarce found men enough to bring home the squadron, which did not arrive till very late in the year. I cannot help closing this account by observing, that commodore Wilmot left sixteen thou-

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thousand pounds in effects on board his own ship, which engaged his family in a long suit with captain Butler. Such are the wretched effects of sacrificing public concerns to the narrow views of private interest !

Towards the latter end of the year 1696, the nation was again alarmed with the report of an invasion. It was known that the French were fitting out a strong squadron at Brest ; and for what service, the intelligence our secretaries had could not inform them. Sir Cloudesley Shovel, therefore, was sent with a considerable force to block them up, which, however the French avoided ; and it was then given out at home, that our vigilance had disappointed the designs of the enemy, and obliged them to abandon all thoughts of a descent. In this we only deceived ourselves, for our merchants quickly came at the knowledge of the true scheme, which was the sending a strong squadron into the West-Indies, to attack some of the Spanish plantations in those parts. The Sieur Pointis was the person who formed the plan of this undertaking, and who had been no less than three years in bringing it to bear.

At first this was considered as a very extraordinary piece of intelligence, which alarmed us the more, because, considering the force we had in that part of the world, there was but too great probability of their succeeding.

To frustrate this blow, where-ever it was intended, orders were given for a small squadron to assemble at Portsmouth under the command of captain Meeze, and other orders were at the same time dispatched to Mr. Neville, who commanded our fleet in the Mediterranean, and who was now made vice-admiral, which he was directed to open, when he had taken due care of the homeward-bound fleet, and should be fifty leagues S. W. by W. from Cadiz. He found himself in this situation about the middle of the month of February, 1696-7, and, then consulting his instructions, found that he was to join captain Meeze's squadron at the island of Madeira, where, after cruizing a long time, he was met by the captain, now made a real-admiral, in his own ship the Bristol ; and, the Lightning fire-ship having lost company with the rest of his squadron in a fog, a little after he left the Isle of Wight. On the seventeenth of April vice-admiral Neville arrived at Barbadoes, where he found most of the ships he expected, except the Dutch, who joining him, however, soon after, they bore away for Antigua, where they arrived the third of May, 1697. There it was resolved in a council of war to sail for Porto-Rico, in order to take as much care as possible of the Spanish

nish galleons. Before he reached his intended port, he had intelligence, that M. Pointis was sailed from Hispaniola on the twenty-first of March, N. S. with twenty-six ships small and great. It was then resolved in a council of war to proceed forthwith to Jamaica, in order to take in a supply of water and provisions.

On the fifteenth of May, 1697, the admiral, being off the east end of the island, met with a sloop, the master whereof informed him, there was a flying report of the French squadron's being before Carthagena; upon this he sailed from Port-Royal, and attempted to go through the Leeward channel; but in that he was prevented by the dying away of the land-breeze, and contrary to what had been ever known by all persons acquainted with those parts, the sea-breeze blew for six days and six nights together, during which time an English sloop came in, that left Porto-Bello the eighteenth of this month, in company with the galleons, (which were fifteen in number), and two days after parted with them, steering away N. N. E. for Jamaica, where they intended to take in provisions, for which they were so much straitened, that they had not enough to carry them to the Havannah. The vice-admiral sent out two sloops to look for them, the one off the keys of Point-Pedro, and the other off those of Porto-Morant, and to let their general know, that he was going to Carthagena to see what could be done against the French, but that he would return to Jamaica in a short time. The twenty-fourth of the same month he took advantage of a small gale from shore to steer for Carthagena, in hopes of finding the French either embarrassed in the siege of the place, or in embarking the plunder; for, according to the best accounts he could get, the Spaniards were very strong there, and had been so lucky also as to have pretty early intelligence of the visit that was designed them; but the cross accidents, that kept the vice-admiral so long on the coast of Jamaica, frustrated his good intentions, and hindered our retaking from the French the best part of what they took from the Spaniards, which must otherwise probably have happened.

In order to give a distinct account of this extraordinary affair, which is somewhat partially related both by English and French writers, I must pursue the history of Pointis's voyage, and shew how and when he executed the scheme he proposed; for this will naturally bring us back to this very point of time when vice admiral Neville sailed in search of him and his squadron. As the success of Pointis's expedition

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pedition depended upon the assistance he was to receive at St. Domingo, he sailed thither directly, and arrived on the coast February 19, 1697. The governor M. Ducasse had taken care to provide every thing pursuant to his instructions, so that the Sieur Pointis met with no retardment but what proceeded from his own imperious disposition, which hindered him from giving the buccaneers the satisfaction they expected; and this produced a mutiny or two, which nothing could have quieted but the presence of Mr. Ducasse, who was actuated wholly by public spirit, and exerted his utmost interest among these people to keep them steady; at the same time he suffered as much as they did from the insolence of the general, who, proud of his commission, and full of himself, behaved without any regard either to the rank or circumstances of others.

After about a fortnight's stay to forward all necessary preparations, the whole fleet sailed for Carthagena, and arrived before that city on the third of April. The force brought from France by M. Pointis consisted of seven large ships of war, about ten frigates, and small vessels of several sorts, on board which were two thousand seven hundred and fifty soldiers, in all four thousand and ten, to which M. Ducasse added another stout squadron, on board of which were fifteen hundred buccaneers, soldiers, and volunteers. They first attempted the strong fort of Boca-Chica, which was carried by assault; then they attacked Neustra Signora de la Popa, a monastery on a hill, which commands the place; they besieged and took likewise the fort of St. Lazarus, and at length stormed the suburbs, which forced the governor to think of a capitulation; and this, being granted him on pretty good terms, was concluded April 24, 1697, when the city was surrendered to the French, who lost before it upwards of five hundred men; neither could it have been ever taken but for the assistance of M. Ducasse, and the troops he commanded, though Pointis used them very ill through the whole affair, and, after it was taken, actually shut them out of the city, putting off from time to time the distribution of the booty, which amounted to about twenty millions of livres, and not allowing so much as to put a check on such as received it.

It is very evident from this account, that if our vice-admiral, on his having the first information of the enemy's being sailed for Carthagena, which was on the fifteenth of May, had proceeded thither instead of going to Jamaica, he had unquestionably surprised the French in the harbour of that place; and, as the Spaniards had actually assembled

an army to retake the city, it is not easy to guess how the French would have escaped, who were by that time split into factions amongst themselves, and at least one half of them fallen sick. But though he missed them then, yet on the twenty-seventh of May, 1697, being half seas over from Jamaica, he saw the *Sieur de Pointis's* squadron, consisting of seven men of war, and two or three frigates, at no great distance; upon which he endeavoured to engage them, but could not. The *Warwick* indeed exchanged some shot with one of the Frenchmen; but, in spite of all the sail she could make, the ship got away from her, as the rest did from the admiral. The *Warwick*, perceiving this, bore down on a fly-boat belonging to the French fleet, and took her, having on board a vast quantity of arms and ammunition, with as much plate as made the prize worth two hundred thousand pounds, and is a pretty good sample of what mighty treasures were on board the rest.

Five days the vice-admiral continued the pursuit, in which five ships, amongst which his own and rear-admiral *Meeze's* were included, sprung their fore-top-masts, and their sails were so torn, that it was found impossible to continue the chase with any hopes of success. This again was a narrow escape; the French themselves own it, they were of much inferior force, they were ill manned, most of their ships were foul; and, if they had fought, many of them must have been taken without doubt. I see no manner of cause to censure the vice-admiral's conduct on this occasion, because it was beyond question his own and his officers interests to have fought, upon the presumption that their own superior force would have put them in possession of all the plunder the French fleet obtained.

The buccaneers, on their return to Carthagena, met with no resistance; and therefore, having driven the inhabitants into the great church, they told them how general *Pointis* had treated them, which, as they alledged, obliged them, though against their will, to come back to make a demand of five millions, which once paid them, they promised to retire without doing any kind of violence. The poor Spaniards did their utmost to rake together this sum; but it was all in vain. The French took what they brought, and, as soon as they had done bringing, these miscreants had recourse to such cruelties, as are scarce credible, to force discoveries. After all, in the space of about five days, they amassed near 1,000,000 of crowns in money, and above as much more in rich goods; after which they fell out amongst themselves as to the division of it, the buccaneers refusing the

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the inhabitants of Domingo an equal share, because, as they said, they were at great expence on that island before they sailed, when the inhabitants were at home in their own houses. This dispute, however, was soon adjusted on the arrival of a ship from Martinico, with advice that a strong English squadron was in quest of them: they instantly quitted the place, embarked their plunder with all imaginable diligence, and contrived to get to sea as soon as possible, and retire to St. Domingo.

When our squadron found it impracticable to engage the French, the vice-admiral thought it expedient to proceed to Carthagena, in order to see if the galleons were safe, and how far he could be useful to the Spaniards. He arrived in the port in the evening of the thirty-first of May, and found the place quite abandoned; for the inhabitants were so much afraid of the buccaneers returning a third time, that they were fled into the woods. Two days the vice-admiral remained in the port before he prevailed upon the governor and some of the principal inhabitants to return, and then sailed, after sending a frigate to St. Jago to inform the governor of the Havanna, and the general of the gallies, of what had passed, that they might the better provide for the safety of the galleons.

On the sixth he discovered eight sail of buccaneers close under the shore; upon which, a detachment was sent to destroy them. The enemy crowded all the sail they could, in hopes of escaping, but only four were so lucky as to effect it. One was forced upon the Spanish coast, not far from Carthagena, her crew taken by the inhabitants, and compelled to work in the repair of their fortifications. Another was forced ashore at St. Domingo, and beat to pieces. The *Christ*, a fine ship, commanded by captain Cofuy, who had two hundred and fifty men on board, and about 350,000 crowns in silver, was taken by a Dutch ship, as was the *Flying Hart* of the same force and value, commanded by captain Pierce, by captain Dilkes, and her crew were brought into England.

The governor of Jamaica considering that the fleet must soon be obliged to return home, resolved to suggest the destruction of that nest of pirates, Petit-Guavus, to the vice-admiral, as the most important service that, as things were circumstanced, could be done to the English colonies in general, and Jamaica in general. Vice-admiral Neville instantly complied with it, and left the execution of the scheme

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to rear-admiral Meeze, who was detached from the fleet, June 22, 1697, for this very purpose, with nine ships of war, great and small. On the twenty-seventh he arrived at a small distance from Petit-Guavas, and debarked some of his forces, ordering the ships to come in the next day.

On the twenty-ninth he surprised Petit-Guavas, entering the place before it was light, and seized the guard. He had at first thoughts of remaining there some short time; but the seamen, and at last, through their example, the landmen, began to plunder and drink so hard, that when the rear-admiral altered his sentiments, and resolved to burn and abandon it, there were not above fifty sober men, under his command, out of nine hundred. When he gave out this order, the whole was executed with such precipitation, that notwithstanding there was abundance of gold and silver in the place, yet very little was saved or brought away. However, the burning the town, and carrying off prisoners a good number of negroes to Jamaica, was a great and seasonable service to the English colonies, and gave the enemy a remarkable check, which they did not soon recover: to say the truth, it was one of the most important actions done during the war.

Vice-admiral Neville, having wooded and watered with all the diligence imaginable, failed to meet rear-admiral Meeze, and, then bringing away the homeward-bound ships from Jamaica, resolved to proceed to the Havanna, in order to preserve the galleons. He failed in the beginning of July, and, coming about the middle of that month on the coast of Cuba, the seamen became excessively sickly, and rear-admiral Meeze died before they reached the Havanna. On the twenty-second of the same month the vice-admiral arrived before that port, and sent in advice to the governor of his want of water and other refreshments. The governor sent him a civil message, but refused to admit his squadron, and did not even supply his necessities, or at least not in all respects. As for the general of the galleons, when he was informed that the vice-admiral came on purpose to convoy that rice fleet home, which was the principal point of king William's instructions, far from being satisfied with these unusual acts of kindness to allies, he excused himself from putting his ships under our protection, supposing, or at least pretending, his orders would not warrant it. The true reason, however, both of his and of the governor's conduct, might probably be, their fear of having the place

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of the greatest consequence in the West-Indies, and the richest fleet of that age, for there were fifty millions on board the galleons, taken at once, since both had been left in the vice-admiral's power, if he had once been admitted into the haven.

This kind of treatment, after the pains he had taken to save the galleons, and to serve the crown of Spain on every occasion, broke the vice-admiral's spirits very much. He had always counted upon escorting the galleons, and believed so acceptable a service would entirely efface the memory of former misfortunes; but being disappointed again, and reflecting on the little service that with so strong a squadron he had been able to do to his country, it threw him into a kind of hectic fever, which hung upon him till he arrived in Virginia, on the twenty-second of August, and there he died, as much of grief as of his distemper, to the great regret of all who knew him, as he was a person of courage, prudence, and integrity; who wanted not either will or abilities to do his country service, though his fortune fell short of his zeal.

By his demise the command of the squadron devolved upon captain Robert Dilkes, who, from Virginia, arrived safely in England on the twenty-fourth of October, 1697, with the whole squadron, though poorly manned, and the ships many of them foul and rotten; so that, notwithstanding the great hopes that had been entertained of our doing mighty things in the West-Indies, all came to nothing; for, besides this, we met with other disappointments in that quarter of the world, that were no less mortifying than those we have mentioned.

The Sieur Pointis thought himself safe when he arrived off Newfoundland, as not having the least knowledge that we had a stout fleet there, under the command of the late Sir John (then captain) Norris, so that he made no difficulty of going into the bay of Conception, and of lying there carelessly enough, though we had a force sufficient at St. John's to have given a good account of him and his Spanish plunder. It was on the twenty-third of July our squadron had advice, that five French ships were seen in Conception-bay, and they immediately concluded it was M. Nesmond's squadron come to attack them; and therefore, instead of going to look for the enemy, they wisely considered how, in case they fell upon St. John's, they should be best able to defend themselves, and bent all their endeavours that way.

Captain Norris was from the beginning a little suspicious that this was not the outward-bound French squadron, and therefore sent the Mary galley, a clean tight ship, to discover what they were. But before they could have any news from her, he received a letter from the master of a ship taken by the French at sea, and put on shore in Newfoundland, in order to procure fresh provisions. In this letter there was a distinct account of M. Pointis's strength, and of his squadron's having on board the rich plunder of Carthage. Captain Norris was ravished with this epistle, called a council of war immediately, and pressed that no farther time might be lost, but that without more ado they might sail in quest of the enemy. Other people, however, were in no such haste; they doubted whether the letter might not be intended to draw them out of their strength, and thereby expose St. John's, and the whole country, to the French; and therefore, after a long debate, it was resolved in the council of war, to remain where they were, and to expect the French in close quarters, without running unnecessary hazards.

About noon, on the twenty-sixth, they received advice, that the five French ships were seen the night before at anchor a little eastward of Belle-isle, by Portugal Cove, and the next day, upon a message from colonel Gibson, there was another consultation, when this intelligence was read; but it was resolved to remain till the two captains arrived, who were sent to make a discovery. Soon after, one of them came with twenty-one Frenchmen, that he had taken in a boat at Carboniere, who said, they were sent by M. Pointis to procure fresh provisions. The other captain returned also from Portugal Cove, who saw the French ships at anchor, one of them of three decks, two from sixty to seventy guns, and two more of above fifty. The council adjourned till the next morning, and then calling the prisoners before them, they related all they knew, fearing that otherwise they should be very ill treated. They said the squadron had not been at any other port since they left the West-Indies, and that hearing of an English squadron in those parts, they had appointed Placentia, in Newfoundland, for the place of rendezvous; but, through the haziness of the weather, were obliged to drop anchor in Conception-bay.

But notwithstanding all this and other corroborative evidence, to prove that this was in reality M. Pointis's squadron, the council of war still over-ruled captain Norris,

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who was eager for fighting, and obliged him to remain in the harbour of St. John's, which they fortified with such industry, that when Mr. Nesmond arrived, which was about two and thirty days after the other squadron had been first seen, the place was in so good a state of defence, that though the French squadron consisted of sixteen sail, of which ten were of the line of battle, yet they were so well satisfied with the sight of the preparations made for their reception, that they thought proper to retire without so much as firing a gun, and thereby left all Newfoundland in our possession, which was confirmed by the ensuing peace.

M. Pointis, however, though he got so happily clear of this affair, met with another, which gave him a good deal more trouble; for, on the fourteenth of August, 1697, he fell in with a squadron commanded by captain Harlow, whom he boldly engaged about three in the afternoon. After a brisk dispute of two hours, the French made a signal for tacking, when one of their ships, being disabled, escaped with much difficulty, and put the rest into some confusion. They bore away as fast as possible, and by ten at night the English squadron lost sight of them. The fifteenth, being a clear day, the enemy was discovered by four in the morning, at the distance of four leagues; upon which captain Harlow continued the chase till evening, but with very little advantage, our ships being fouler than theirs, though they were returned from so long a voyage. The next day they got clear away, and the day following entered the harbour of Brest, having as happily and as strangely escaped variety of dangers, as any squadron that ever went to sea.

It is not easy to account for M. Pointis's bearing down upon captain Harlow's squadron; nor can one readily apprehend, how the English ships, just come out of port, came to sail so much worse than the French. Some mystery there was in this, which was never revealed to the public, though, in all probability, something might be discovered to the lords of the admiralty, which it was not proper should come abroad. Thus we have run through the history of what passed in the West-Indies during this war, and are now returned to the naval transactions in Europe, in the year 1697, where we shall find not many extraordinary actions to detain us.

His majesty going in the spring of the year to Holland, he was pleased to declare Edward Russel, Esq; then at the head of the admiralty, one of the lords-justices in his ab-

sence; and soon after it was known, that his majesty had created him baron of Shingey, viscount Barfleur, and earl of Orford. These honours seemed not only fit but necessary, since his lordship, as bishop Burnet well observes, had the whole authority of high-admiral, though not the title. His presence, therefore, being requisite at the board, Sir George Rooke was declared admiral of the fleet, and actually went down, in the beginning of June, to Portsmouth, in order to take upon him the command of it. On his arrival, however, he found things but in a very indifferent condition: for though the ships made a handsome figure enough in the list at the admiralty, yet they were in fact not half manned, and worse victualled; so that if a Dutch Squadron had not happily joined them, it is on all hands agreed, they could not have put to sea. But by the latter end of the month, his force being augmented by two squadrons, which had been under the command of vice-admiral Mitchel, and rear-admiral Benbow, the admiral found his strength increased to forty-four sail of the line, and therefore he put to sea for some time, but was obliged to return sooner than he intended, for want of provisions.

In the month of September he detached vice-admiral Mitchel with a Squadron, to meet and sustain vice-admiral Neville, who was expected home with the galleons from the West-Indies; but before he reached the cape of St. Vincent, he had notice of the return of that Squadron, and did not therefore think proper to continue any longer at sea. He was afterwards ordered out again in October, when he performed nothing worthy of remark, except the bringing in fifteen Dutch East-India ships, which had lost most of their anchors and cables, and must otherwise have been in great danger of perishing themselves. Soon after he received the king's orders, to bring over the Czar from Holland, which he did; that monarch arriving in England on the eleventh of January, and was so acceptable to that great prince, that with the king's leave, he attended him during the whole time he staid in England, and had the honour also to command the Squadron which escorted him on his return to Holland, in his way back to his own dominions. His behaviour toward that great and glorious prince, was such as gave him entire satisfaction, so that he retained a grateful remembrance of it many years after, when he came a second time into Holland, and expressed it by taking notice of many points in naval discipline, in which he was instructed by admiral Mitchel.

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Rear-admiral Benbow sailed from Spithead on the eleventh of April, 1697, with a squadron consisting of seven third-rates and two fire-ships, and instructions to protect the trade of this nation in every instance in his power. and to annoy the enemy. With this view, he was stationed from ten to fourscore leagues from Scilly, but was able to perform nothing remarkable during the best part of the month of May, though he was joined by five ships of war more, and therefore he returned to St. Helen's about the twenty-first of that month, from whence he sailed again on the twenty-fourth, with four third rates and two fire-ships, for his former station; and, after having seen two East-India ships pretty far out to sea, he received such intelligence as to our homeward-bound Jamaica ships, as induced him to repair to Plymouth, in doing which he had the good fortune to join the Virginia and West-India fleets, and their particular convoys, off the Lizard; and, soon after meeting vice-admiral Mitchel off the Start, he was by him directed to repair to Plymouth with the merchant-ships, where he received orders from Sir George Rooke to repair to the fleet then passing westward, and to take care for sending eastward a convoy with the trade.

But these orders were contradicted by others from the lords of the admiralty, dated the tenth of July, and he, in obedience to them, proceeded with the squadron before Dunkirk, which captain Beaumont had commanded a considerable time before, consisting of six third rates, besides the Newark, two fourth, one fifth, and two fire-ships; but three of those third rates were ordered away to the Downs by the lords of the admiralty.

The rear-admiral, as soon as he arrived with his squadron, went in person with his boat before the pier-heads of Dunkirk, where, though he discovered not one vessel in the road, yet he saw fifteen or sixteen sail of great ships within, one of which bore a flag. With captain Beaumont he found two orders from the lords of the admiralty, the first directing him to pursue and burn du Bart's ships where-ever he could find them, except under the protection of the forts in Norway or Sweden; the other, to obey any orders he might receive from his majesty, who was then in Holland. On the thirtieth of July, rear-admiral Vandergoes joined him with eleven Dutch ships, and it was proposed, that one of the squadrons should lie so, as that Dunkirk might be south of them, and the other in or near Ostend road; that, if du Bart should attempt to pass out either at the north

north or east channel, they might the better discover him ; but no other answer was made by the Dutch flag, than his ships were foul, and not in a condition to pursue him.

The French ships at Dunkirk were in all eleven, from fifty to twenty-six guns ; and about the beginning of August they were all, except M. du Bart's own ship, hawled into the basin to clean, so that it was judged they were making ready to come out the next spring tide. But since our ships, as well as the Dutch, were all foul, little service could be expected from their chasing, and it was almost next to an impossibility to block up clean ships at Dunkirk with foul ones. The rear-admiral, therefore, proposed, that four of his best sailers might be ordered to Sheerness to clean, and that the others might come to the Downs not only to take in water, which they very much wanted, but to heel and scrub ; and this he judged might be done before the approaching spring could afford the French an opportunity of getting over the bar. But at this time it was not thought advisable, though afterwards he received orders to do it ; so that for the present he only sent the ships from time to time to the Downs to water, as they could best be spared. It is evident enough from this large account of the matter, that our disappointments were frequently owing to the want of proper orders, and the not paying a due attention to such pieces of advice as the commanders of squadrons thought themselves in duty obliged to offer. On the twenty-third of August du Bart left Dunkirk with five sail, having the prince of Conti on board, whom the French attempted to make king of Poland. The rear admiral pursued him, but to no manner of purpose ; and, before he returned to his station, eight other ships were gone, which he pursued likewise, but with the same want of success : and this was the last action of the war ; for, on the tenth of September following, peace was concluded between England, Spain, and Holland, on the one side, and the crown of France, on the other, at Ryfwick, by which the French king acknowledged king William's title, and, as the French historians say, gave up more towns than the confederates could have taken in twenty years ; but this was not from any principle either of justice or moderation, but with views of quite another sort, as was foreseen then, and in the space of a few years fully appeared.

We have now brought this long war to a conclusion, and it is but just that we should offer the reader some reflections on

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on the consequences of it to the naval power and commerce of England. First then, with respect to our navy, we have seen that the war opened with a very bad prospect; for though we had an excellent fleet, a vast number of able seamen, and perhaps as good officers as any in the world, yet the French got earlier to sea than we did, appeared with a greater force, and managed it better, though we acted then in conjunction with Holland, and, according to the general rule of political reasoning, ought to have had it in our power to have driven the French out of the sea.

All this proceeded from the sudden change in our government, which perhaps left many of our officers disaffected, and many more without having any proper degree of credit at court. Want of confidence between the administration and the commanders of our fleets is always destructive to our maritime power, and therefore, instead of wondering that things went so ill in the three first years of the war, we may with more justice be surprised, that they went no worse. Our party divisions not only enervated our own strength, but created such jealousies between us and the Dutch, as blasted the fruits that must have been otherwise produced by this close and fortunate union of the maritime powers. Of this we have the fullest proof in the case of the earl of Torrington, whom even the enemies of the government made it a point to support, because they knew that preserving him must give distaste to our allies, and who on the other hand was prosecuted by many who believed him innocent.

But when once the government was thoroughly settled, and we acted cordially in conjunction with the states, it soon became evident, that we were much more than a match for France at sea. Our misfortunes at the beginning of the war created inquiries and censures, which were, and always will be, followed with victories; for, when officers find themselves in danger for acting ill, they will endeavour to escape it by doing well: whereas, if they once find that they may prefer private profit to that duty which they owe the public, with impunity, they will not fail to run into that broad road. This accounts for our success in the middle of the war, and the declension of it afterwards, when the board of admiralty began to feel its own strength, and the management of naval affairs was reduced to a court-system, by which such men were sure of protection, as could be depended on in other respects than their commands in the fleet.

But

But notwithstanding these and some other miscarriages, no less prejudicial to the interest of the nation, yet, on the whole, the French suffered much more in their maritime power than we, as Mr. Burchet has shewn us; and consequently, if we consider the situation of both nations, the ease with which it was in our power to repair our losses, and the almost insuperable difficulties the French had to struggle with in this respect, we must conclude, that not only they but the whole world had full evidence, from thence, of their being no way able to struggle against the Dutch and us in a maritime war. To make this still more apparent, I must observe, that king William, in his speech to both houses of parliament at the conclusion of the war, asserted our naval force to be near double what it was at his accession; whereas I do not find in any of the French historians, that they attempted to build new ships during the progress of the war, or to do any thing more than finish such as were then upon the stocks, purchasing, as occasion required, large merchantmen, which they converted into frigates.

In this light, therefore, we were gainers by the war, of which the French seemed to be very sensible, since they avoided all general engagements; and, in particular actions between small squadrons or single ships, the strictness of their discipline gave them great advantages, since their vessels, generally speaking, were much cleaner than ours, and consequently were able to leave us whenever they found themselves too hard pressed, of which several instances have been given in the foregoing sheets. At the same time, however, it must be confessed, that the French fleets, generally speaking, behaved very well at sea, and that we suffered considerably even in those actions where we were victorious, as well as where our ships were taken by surprise, or beaten as convoys, by a superior force.

But, with respect to our trade, it is certain, that we suffered infinitely more, not only than the French, but than ever we did in any former war, where there was a nearer balance between our trade and that of the enemy. This proceeded in a great measure from the vigilance of the French, who, as we have already shewn, made it their choice, nay, their great monarch made it his glory, to carry on the war in a piratical way, on purpose to distress our merchants, and excite a loud clamour here for a peace. Another reason why our commerce suffered so much, was that spirit of avarice which prevailed, and which engaged many merchants to attempt making a sudden fortune by

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suffering their ships to run, instead of waiting for a convoy. It cannot indeed be denied, that a third principal cause of our miscarriages was the want of proper attention at the board of admiralty, where officers were generally heard with too much, and merchants with too little favour. To this we may add that spirit of rapine and corruption which prevailed among the sea-officers at this time, and which too often induced them to consider their commissions rather as powers given them to provide for themselves and their families, than as trusts received for the benefit of the public.

After this impartial representation of the state of our affairs at its conclusion, we need not wonder that a peace, and a peace so advantageous as that of Ryfwick was, should give the greatest satisfaction to the nation in general, and to the trading part in particular. That it did so, may appear from the government's causing a special gazette to be published, on purpose to make known the French king's ratification and proclamation of the peace at Paris two days sooner than it would have otherwise been; and by the numerous addresses of thanks and congratulation, which were sent up from all parts of the kingdom to felicitate his majesty upon this occasion, and to express their just sense of being delivered from the burden and expence of so bloody and destructive a war. Neither ought it at all to abate the merit of this treaty, that the French struck medals, magnifying their success in the war, and their demonstrating themselves thereby a match for all the rest of Europe, since, if they had really been so victorious, and had gained such advantages, the wonder was so much greater that they should stoop to such a peace. But though it may be true, that in many respects the French had the advantage in this war, yet undoubtedly they foresaw they were unable to support so vast an expence as it brought upon them, and as their weakness increased much faster in proportion than that of the maritime powers, this in a few campaigns would have quite changed the face of things, and either brought on the total ruin of France, or obliged her to make peace upon still worse terms than were demanded now.

It must therefore be allowed, to the honour of this reign and of this administration, that, however they managed the war, they gained by the peace all, and indeed more than could be expected. By the fourth article the French king engages his word and faith not to disturb the king of Great-Britain in any of his dominions, not to assist, directly or indirectly, any of the enemies of the said king,
nor

nor to give shelter to any rebels or conspirators against him. By the fifth the free use of commerce or navigation is restored between the subjects of both kings. By the seventh all places taken during the war, either in Europe or in America, are restored. As great care was taken of our allies, every thing was stipulated for them which with any shew of justice they could desire; so that, by the conclusion of this treaty, the general peace of Europe was restored, and we were left at full liberty to improve the advantages, afforded thereby, for the rectifying whatever was amiss in our domestic oeconomy, extending our commerce, and easing our people. How far these points were studied or neglected, shall be our business to examine in the next chapter.



MEMOIRS

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NAVAL HISTORY.

The Naval History of GREAT-BRITAIN continued through the remaining part of the reign of king William III. comprehending the most remarkable transactions in relation to our commerce and plantations, with the memoirs of such eminent seamen as flourished in this period of time.

THE affair of the East-India company in Scotland has been mentioned in the former chapter; but I did not insist upon it then, because it would have interrupted the thread

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thread of our history, and because I apprehend it would come in more naturally here. It is certainly, even at this time, a very delicate subject, especially for one who professes to follow truth at the expence of all parties and characters whatever. But the pleasure which results from acting fairly in matters of this nature, is a sufficient compensation for any risque that a writer can run by his impartiality; and therefore I shall lay, without reserve, the true state of this matter before the reader, as it appears to me.

The revolution brought back to Scotland several worthy patriots, whom the jealousy of former reigns had driven into Holland, Germany, and other countries. These, from the time of their return, thought of nothing so much as the putting the trade of Scotland, which had been hitherto in a manner totally neglected, on a proper foot. With this view they procured, in 1693, an act of parliament, that is, of the parliament of Scotland, for the encouragement of foreign commerce, and, in consequence of that law, procured another in 1695, for setting up an East-India company. When this was done, it was found requisite to take in subscriptions: and, as it was not easy to find money enough in Scotland for the carrying on so expensive a design, the company's agents endeavoured to procure subscriptions abroad, particularly at London, Hamburgh, and Amsterdamb, in which they were certainly sufficiently supported both by the royal and legislative authority.

But as the carrying this scheme into execution gave great umbrage to the East-India companies in England and Holland, they took, as it was very natural for them to do, the best measures they could to hinder the success of these applications. This, however, had some very untoward consequences, since these companies could effect nothing but by the interposition of their respective governments; and by this means his majesty's name, as king of England, and Stadtholder of Holland, came to be made use of, to thwart those designs which actually had his sanction as king of Scotland. This, as might have been easily foreseen, embarrassed king William prodigiously; for it forced him to act in a manner little suitable to his inclinations, since, on an application of the Scots, he was obliged to promise that he would not countenance any such attempt to their prejudice; and, to gratify the English and Dutch, he found himself obliged to part with two very useful and able ministers, the marquis of Tweeddale and secretary Johnston, because the former had given the royal assent to the law which established the Scotch East-India company, in which, however,

however, he had only followed his instructions ; and the latter for promoting the design, which, no doubt, he took to be, what it really was, an act of duty to his country. Yet these steps served only to palliate things for the present, and instead of healing the breach widened it, as will be seen hereafter.

The managers of the East-India company in Scotland, finding their designs for carrying on that trade so vigorously opposed, and having, as they conceived, very large powers vested in them by the late act of parliament, resolved to turn their endeavours another way for the present, and to attempt the settlement of a colony in America, on the isthmus of Darien. Every body knows, that this is a very narrow tract of country, which unites the two great continents of north and south America, and that consequently it must be very advantageously seated for commerce. As the inhabitants had never been conquered by the Spaniards, and as the new colony sent thither actually purchased their lands from the native proprietors, and settled there by consent, it was apprehended that the Spaniards had no right to dispute this establishment ; and that, if they did, the planters might defend themselves without involving the nation in a war.

The colony was accordingly settled at a vast expence ; but it was soon found, that great mistakes had been made in relation to the consequences expected from it. For the Spaniards not only considered it as an invasion on their rights, and began to take our ships upon it ; but the English also grew very uneasy, and made warm representations to his majesty on this subject, which produced private orders to the governor of Jamaica, and other neighbouring plantations, not only to avoid all commerce with the Scots at Darien, but even to deny them provisions. As it was foreseen that these measures would naturally occasion great disturbances in that part of the world, it was found requisite to send a squadron thither to protect our trade, to awe the Spaniards, and to hinder the increase of pirates, which had been very great ever since the conclusion of the peace, occasioned chiefly by the multitude of privateers that were then thrown out of employment ; and having been long used to live by plunder, had not either the will or the means to procure a subsistence for themselves by any honest employment. There were also other reasons which made the sending such a naval force requisite, as will appear in the subsequent account of its proceedings.

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Rear-admiral Benbow was made choice of to command this squadron, which consisted of three fourth rates, and a small French prize. He sailed from Portsmouth on the twenty-ninth of November, 1698, and arrived at Barbadoes the twenty-seventh of February following. He executed there, and at the Leeward Islands, what he was directed by his instructions to do, and being informed that the Spaniards at Carthagena had seized two of our ships, with an intent to employ them in an expedition they were then meditating against the Scots at Darien, he, like a brave and public-spirited commander, as he really was, resolved to prevent it, and restore these ships to their right owners. With this view he stood over to the Spanish coast, and coming before Boca-Chica castle, he sent his men on shore for wood and water, which though he asked with great civility of the Spanish governor, he would scarce permit him to take.

This highly nettled the admiral, who thereupon sent his own lieutenant to the governor, with a message, importing, that he not only wanted these necessaries, but that he came likewise for two English ships that lay in the harbour, and had been detained there some time, which, if not sent to him immediately, he would come and take by force. The governor answered him, in very respectful terms, that if he would leave his present station, in which he seemed to block up their port, the ships should be sent out to him. With this request the admiral, without the least hesitation, complied; but finding the governor trifled with him, and that his men were in danger of falling into the country distemper, which doubtless the Spanish governor foresaw, he sent him another message, that if in twenty-four hours the ships were not sent him, he would come and fetch them; and that, if he kept them longer than that time, he would have an opportunity of seeing what respect an English officer had to his word. The Spaniards, however, did not think fit to make the experiment, but sent out the ships within the time; with which the admiral returned to Jamaica, where he was received with much kindness and respect.

There he received an account, that the Spaniards at Porto-Bello had seized several of our ships employed in the slave-trade, on the old pretence, that the settlement at Darien was a breach of the peace. At the desire of the parties concerned the admiral sailed thither also, and demanded these ships; but received a surly answer from the admiral of the Barlovento fleet, who happened to be then at Porto-Bello. Rear-admiral Benbow expostulated with him on
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this head, insisting, that, as the subjects of the crown of England had never injured those of his catholic majesty, he ought not to make prize of their ships for injuries done by another nation. The Spaniards replied shrewdly, that since both the crowns were placed on the same head, it was no wonder he mistook the subjects of one crown for the other. After many altercations, however, and when the Spaniards saw that the colony at Darien received no assistance from Jamaica, the ships were with much to do restored. On his return to Jamaica, towards the latter end of the year, he received a supply of provisions from England, and soon after orders to return home; which he did with six men of war, taking New-England in his way.

While rear-admiral Benbow was thus employed, vice-admiral Aylmer was sent with a strong squadron into the Mediterranean, in order to confirm our treaties with the governments of Algiers, Tunis, and Tripoli, which he performed very effectually; for, being a man of a generous temper, he executed all things with such magnificence, and treated the deputies sent on board him in a manner so well suited to their tempers, that they were easily drawn to do those things for him, which an officer of another disposition would never have obtained.

It was intended too that he should have secured the galleons, in case the French attempted to seize them on the death of the king of Spain, which was daily apprehended; but for this he certainly came too late, and though no body pretended to fix any imputation on his character in this respect, yet there was great blame laid on the board of admiralty, for not fitting out this fleet sooner.

But we now return to matters of a more public concern. A war had arisen between the kings of Denmark and Sweden, which greatly affected the peace of the north; a thing that can never happen without interesting the maritime powers. It will be necessary to say something as to the grounds of this war, because the part we took in it was very much to the honour of the English nation, and ought to establish it as a maxim, that whenever it is really necessary to assist our allies, we ought to do it vigorously, and at once; which is the way not only to serve them, but to save a very considerable expence to us. There was, towards the close of the year 1699, a private treaty made by several princes for attacking the king of Sweden, afterwards the famous Charles the twelfth, but then a perfect youth, and even for dismembering the Swedish monarchy. According to

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to this scheme, the king of Denmark was to invade Holstein, the elector of Brandenburg was to fall into the Swedish Pomerania, the king of Poland was to attack Livonia, and in case the dukes of Zell and Hanover moved to the assistance of the Swedes, the Landgrave of Hesse, and the duke of Wolfenbuttle, were to fall upon them.

This was an alliance founded entirely upon interest and ambition, for the Swedes had done nothing to deserve this treatment; and therefore, upon the first breaking out of this confederacy, his Swedish majesty addressed himself to king William and the States-General, as guarantees of the treaties made for securing the tranquility of the north, by preserving there a proper balance of power. At first it was thought requisite to interpose only our good offices. But when the king of Denmark over-ran Holstein, and the king of Poland first attempted to surprise, and then besieged Riga in Livonia, it became necessary to take other measures, especially when it was known that the Czar was inclined to enter into the confederacy. The point in debate with his majesty was, whether he should do what was necessary, and what he was obliged to by treaties, without consulting the house of commons; or whether he should lay the whole matter before the parliament, and leave the decision of it to them. Some of the ministry were for taking the latter method, but the king was for the former, and with good reason; he said, the executive part of the government was in him, and therefore he would do what was fit for him to do, and acquaint the parliament with it at their next meeting.

His majesty, in the spring of the year 1700, sent over a strong squadron to Holland, under the command of Sir George Rooke, who, in the latter end of May, was joined by a Dutch squadron; and, having the command of the whole fleet, he sailed for the Sound, where he arrived about the middle of June. There he found the Dutch fleet, consisting of twenty-eight sail of the line of battle ships, ranged athwart of the narrow passage, under the guns of their castle of Cronenburg, opposite to Helsingburg; and here also he received assurance from count Wutchtmeister, admiral-general of Sweden, that he would take the first opportunity of joining him with the squadron under his command. Not long after a signal was made, as had been agreed, from Helsingburg, that the Danish fleet were under sail; whereupon our admiral weighed anchor, and advanced into the Sound, to prevent any mischief which might otherwise happen to the Swedes. But the Danish ships anchored again on this side of the grounds, not only to guard the passage,

passage, but to prevent our joining with the Swedish squadron, which were come down to the South-side of the channel.

In this posture the fleets lay for some time, Sir George Rooke expecting that the Swedes would, according to what had been promised, have pushed through; which in all probability they might have done in less than two hours, for it had blown fresh at S. S. E. But the opportunity being lost, he got under sail, and came nearer to the island of Huen. Meanwhile the Danes plyed towards him in a line of battle, but anchored about noon near three leagues off, in the mouth of the channel leading up to Copenhagen, and the Swedes were much about the same distance on the other side of the grounds. The Danes then endeavoured to amuse the admiral with an account of a treaty, in hopes that, while it was negotiating, he would suspend hostilities; but he pursued the spirit of his instructions, which required him to promote not a negotiation, but a peace; and therefore, being informed that the Swedish fleet had passed the channel of Flinterena on the third of July, he sailed the next day, and anchoring off Landskroon, the Swedish fleet joined him on the sixth; upon which the Danes retired into their harbour, where they were very well secured; and tho' the united fleets pretended to bombard them in the port of Copenhagen, yet either they could not, or would not, do them much mischief.

The confederate fleet consisted of fifty-two ships of the line; but as so great a strength was not necessary to keep in the Danes, part was detached for other purposes; for there were sent to Gottenburg a fourth and a fifth rate of the English, and three ships of the States-General, to cover the forces which the king of Sweden intended to transport to Tonningen, on the river of Eyder, and three English, with six Swedish, together with three Dutch ships, were ordered into the south channel going into Copenhagen, with the bomb-vessels, from whence they bombarded the Danish fleet some hours, but not with much greater success than before; nor did those on our side receive any damage from their shells, or the shot from the town, the ships and the pontoons. Preparations were now making for a vigorous descent in Roge-bay, and between Copenhagen and Elsinore at the same time; but the winds being contrary, those troops which embarked at Udstedt, being chiefly horse, could not get over to the bay before-mentioned, as was intended, so that they were put on shore, and ordered to Landskroon and Helsingburg, to be transported from thence; and

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and the latter end of July, the king of Sweden landed with about five thousand foot, near four miles on this side Elsinore, without any great loss, although the Danes had brought down a body of horse and foot, and three or four field-pieces, to oppose them.

This quick motion was intended to accelerate the negotiations that were then carrying on, and it had the desired effect ; for the Danes, excessively alarmed at so unexpected a proceeding, sent orders to their plenipotentiaries at Travendale to sign the preliminaries on the terms proposed by the mediators ; and this being signified to Sir George Rooke, he refused to let the combined fleet cover any longer the descent of the Swedes, there being enough already done to secure a peace, which was signed on the eighteenth of August, 1700, and left the king of Sweden at liberty to act against the Czar and the king of Poland, who had both invaded his dominions in this critical juncture.

When the business was done, the combined fleets returned, and the States-General were so sensible of the prudent management of the English admiral, that they thanked his majesty for having entrusted him with the commission. I cannot help observing upon this occasion, that when Sir George Rooke was so unlucky as to labour under the displeasure of a powerful party in England, he was known and acknowledged in Holland to be the best officer, and the greatest seaman of the age. This, perhaps, was the reason, that, notwithstanding the difference of parties, king William always preserved a good opinion of this gentleman, and employed him as long as he lived in the most important commands.

We are now to return to affairs nearer home. The death of the king of Spain changed all the affairs of Europe, and forced us, who had so lately made a very necessary peace, upon a new, expensive, and dangerous war, contrary to the genius, at least, if not, as the patriots of those times asserted, to the interest of the nation.

I would by no means be understood to censure this war as unreasonable or unjust ; all I aim at is to distinguish grounds from pretences, and to justify king William's measures in this respect from their true motives, rather than from those which were used only to colour them in compliance with the nation's temper at that time. The king, who was a very wise man, and a consummate politician, saw plainly, that the Spanish succession, if it fell entirely into the hands of the house of Bourbon, would leave it absolutely in the power of that house to give law to the rest of



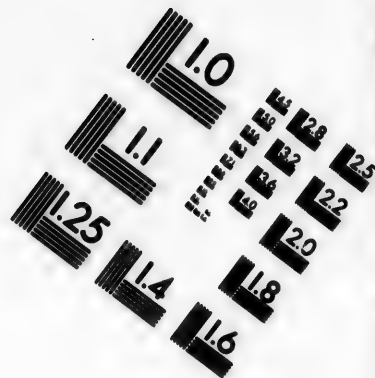
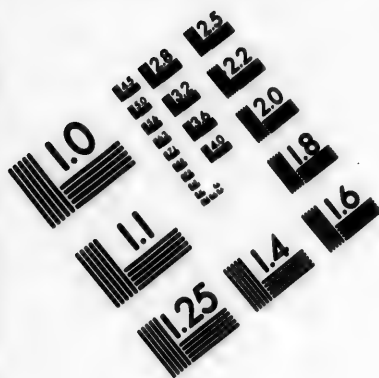
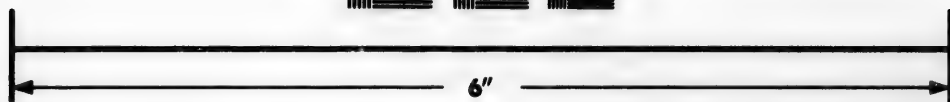
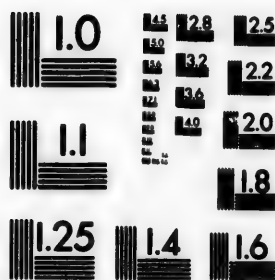


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Europe, and to destroy that independency so necessary to Great-Britain and Holland, which yet results from the balance that had hitherto been kept between that family and the house of Austria. He saw too, that the sense which other powers had of their particular grievances and immediate danger from the power of the French king, afforded the means of combining such a force as might be able to bring that monarch to reason, and to consent to such an establishment as would leave things in their former state, and secure the several potentates of Europe in the possession of their just rights.

This induced him to engage reciprocally Papists and Protestants to support each other's pretensions; for, by the grand alliance, Great-Britain and the States undertook to procure satisfaction to the pope, as, on the other hand, the emperor and other catholic princes stipulated to support the protestant interest, and maintain the rights of the maritime powers in respect to their commerce. This it was that made the whole a common cause; and, though these articles exposed the alliance to very popular objections amongst party-men at home and abroad, yet to persons of judgment and sagacity, nothing could recommend it more. In all confederacies the good of the whole must be regarded, and to this the particular views of all the separate princes and powers who compose it must give way; and therefore if, considering things in this light, the general alliance formed against France in 1701 was right and well founded, all the cavils, raised against it from the party-spirit that prevailed here, were equally frivolous and unjust.

When the resolution was once taken to have recourse again to arms in order to preserve the balance of power, the first care was for the fleet, which his majesty resolved should be much superior to that of the enemy, his majesty being extremely sensible of the ill consequences that attended the want of this salutary precaution at the beginning of the last war. Preparatory to this was the new commission of the admiralty in the spring of the year 1701, at the head of which was placed the earl of Pembroke, a man universally beloved and esteemed.

The command of the fleet was very judiciously bestowed upon Sir George Rooke, who on the second of July went on board the *Triumph* in the Downs, where he hoisted the flag. He soon after sailed to Spithead, where he was speedily joined by the rest of the fleet, consisting of forty-eight ships of the line, besides frigates, fire-ships, and small vessels. He had under him some of the greatest seamen of the

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age : he was not long after reinforced by fifteen Dutch men of war of the line, besides frigates and small vessels, under the command of lieutenant-admiral Allemonde, vice-admiral Vandergoes, and rear-admiral Waessenaar.

The whole fleet was obliged to wait at St. Helen's until the middle of August for want of provisions ; and, when he put to sea, the wind blew in a few hours so high, that he was constrained to put back again into Torbay. Towards the latter end of the month he sailed from thence, and the second of September he detached vice-admiral Benbow with a stout squadron for the West-Indies : and as this was the principal business of the fleet, and indeed a thing in itself of the highest importance, the admiral detached a strong squadron of English ships under the command of Sir John Munden, and ten sail of Dutch men of war, besides frigates, under rear-admiral Waessenaar, to see the West-India squadron well into the sea. The French expected that this fleet would have actually proceeded to the Mediterranean, and it was to confirm them in this belief, we had demanded the free use of the Spanish harbours : but this was only to conceal things, and to gain an opportunity of sending a squadron early to the West-Indies, without putting it in the power of the French to procure any exact account of its strength : the admiral, after performing this, cruized according to his instructions for some time, and then returned with the largest ships into the Downs.

After this fleet was sent to sea, his majesty, on the 18th of January, thought proper to revoke his letters-patent to the commissioners of the admiralty, and to appoint the right honourable Thomas earl of Pembroke and Montgomery, lord high-admiral of England and Ireland, and of the foreign plantations. The design of this promotion was to be rid of the disadvantages attending a board : and this end it answered perfectly ; for his lordship immediately sent away captain Edmund Loades to Cadiz to bring home the sea stores, and the merchants effects, before the war broke out, as also two hulks that had been left in that harbour, from the time of the last war, for the greater conveniency of screening our ships which remained in that port. This the captain with his small squadron, consisting but of three frigates, effectually performed.

The war was now the great object of our councils as well as those of France, though hitherto it was not declared, and negotiations were still carried on in Holland as if both parties had inclined to an amicable determination of these differences, which was, however, the intention of neither.

The expectation of a rupture made our sea officers exceedingly alert, and put them upon shewing their mettle sometimes a little too much. For instance, the marquis of Caermarthen's yacht fired upon a French ship in the harbour of Rotterdam to oblige her to strike, which she did immediately. The commander of the yacht, not satisfied with this, sent for the master of the French vessel on board, and obliged him to pay twelve livres for the shot. This was complained of by count d'Avaux, the French minister, in very high terms; and yet it is very probable, that the States would have expressed their dislike of it at another season, but things were then in such a situation, that it was not thought proper to animadvert on these accidents, whatever might be thought of them at another time.

In the midst of these preparations, however, care was taken of a point which nearly concerned trade, and that was the uniting the two East-India companies, which was done under an act of arbitration, wherein lord Godolphin and Mr. Harley, afterwards earl of Oxford, were for the old company, and lord Halifax for the new. During seven years each company was to have an equal power in the administration of the fund and trade; and to that end twelve persons were to be yearly appointed by the general courts of each company respectively, who were to be styled **MANAGERS OF THE UNITED TRADE TO INDIA**; and after these seven years were expired, the old company were to surrender their charters, and the new company was thenceforward to change its style, and to be called **THE UNITED COMPANY OF MERCHANTS TRADING TO THE EAST-INDIES**: and this agreement was the foundation of that company, which has subsisted with so great credit to themselves, and benefit to the nation ever since.

One of the last acts of king William's administration was a solemn message to the lower house of parliament, in relation to an union between England and Scotland, in which he said, "He should esteem it a peculiar felicity, if, during his reign, some happy expedient for making both kingdoms one might take place, and therefore he was extremely desirous a treaty for this purpose might be set on foot, which he therefore recommended in the most earnest manner to the house of commons." In compliance with this message the house did appoint a day to consider of the proposition contained therein; but the death of the king prevented their coming to any resolution.

Before this happened, however, they resolved that forty thousand men should be granted for the service of the fleet

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the ensuing year, and shewed such an inclination to enter heartily into all the measures necessary to render the grand alliance effectual towards the ends for which it was made, that the French, who little expected that such a spirit would be shewn in this parliament, were much surprised, as easily foreseeing that the new war would distress them much more than the old had ever done, because it was like to be better managed.

His extraordinary attention to business is thought to have hastened the king's decease, which happened on the 8th of March, 1701-2, about eight in the morning. He died, as he lived, with great steadiness of mind, and shewed himself in his last moments as much a hero as he had ever done in the field. I ought now to say somewhat of this prince's character, and to sum up all with a general view of the capital events in his reign; but as I have already treated very copiously of such as have any affinity with the principal design of this work, and as the fame of king William III. stands in no need of my feeble assistance, I shall content myself with saying, that never any prince better understood the general interest of Europe, or pursued it with greater firmness, and that whatever unlucky accidents fell out in his reign, to the prejudice of our affairs, were not so much owing to any mistakes in his conduct, as to the circumstances of the times, our own unfortunate divisions, and the fatal consequences of both.

The only thing now left to be performed, before we proceed to another chapter, is the collecting, as far as the slender memoirs that have come to our hands will allow, some biographical account of the most eminent seamen who died in this reign; and in treating of these the reader is desired to remember, that no party is espoused; that every man is considered as a person of worth and honour so far as he pursued his principles, and was just to the prince he served, and faithful to the interest of his country. By the help of this necessary and well-founded distinction, we shall be able to do strict justice to all those brave men who exposed their lives in their country's service at sea, of what party soever they were, or were reputed; which, however, hath been seldom done in a work of this kind, where, generally speaking, the heroes are all on one side, and there are none but indifferent people on the other: whereas in truth there is no foundation for such characters, honest and brave men being found alike on both sides, though they have sometimes had the misfortune to be hated and defamed by such as have less regard to merit than opinion, and

and who thought it excusable to raise a clamour against a great man in an opposite interest, though they were sensible this clamour sprung from prejudice, and not any love to justice.

MEMOIRS of Sir JOHN BERRY, Knight, Rear-Admiral of England.

MR. JOHN BERRY's parents being poor, and he having nothing to recommend him but his ingenuity and courage, at the age of seventeen, went to Plymouth, where he bound himself apprentice to Mr. Robert Mering, a merchant in that town, and part-owner in several ships. He went to sea in his service, and was extremely unfortunate in setting out, being twice taken by the Spaniards, and suffering a long imprisonment, which, however, did him no great hurt in the main. On his return to England he found his master in very bad circumstances; which was no prejudice to him; for, in a short time after, Mr. Mering told him, that, having now no farther occasion for his service, he would, in reward of his past diligence, give him the remainder of his time, which he did freely.

Mr. Berry, thus at large and at liberty to act for himself, immediately came up to London, where, by the help of some friends, he was preferred to be boatwain of a ketch belonging to the royal navy, called the Swallow, which, under the command of captain Infam, was ordered to the West-Indies in company with two of his majesty's frigates, both of which were lost in the gulph of Florida; but the Swallow, by cutting down her masts, and heaving her guns overboard, as also her provisions, got clear, and in the space of sixteen weeks, during which they had nothing to eat but the fish they caught, or to drink but rain-water, they arrived at Campeachy. There they furnished themselves with provisions, and then sailed for Jamaica, where they arrived in three weeks.

Sir Thomas Muddiford, who was a native of Devonshire as well as Mr. Berry, was then governor of that island, and he ordered the Swallow to be refitted, put eight guns on board her; and having intelligence that a pirate, who had taken one Mr. Peach bound from Southampton to Jamaica, and marooned him and all his crew, was still in those seas, he ordered the Swallow, now well victualled and manned, to put to sea in quest of her, and gave his countryman Berry the title of lieutenant.

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In three weeks after they sailed from Jamaica, they found the pirate at anchor in a bay off the island of Hispaniola. He had about sixty men and twenty guns, whereas the Swallow had but forty men and eight small guns. Capt. Insam, having considered the enemy's strength and compared it with his own, called up all his men, and addressed them in these words: "Gentlemen, the blades we are to attack are men at arms, old buccaneers, and superior to us in number and in the force of their ship, and therefore I would have your opinion, whether"—"Sir," interrupted lieutenant Berry, "we are men at arms too, and, which is more, honest men, and fight under the king's commission; and, if you have no stomach for fighting, be pleased to walk down into your cabin." The crew applauded this motion, and declared one and all for captain Berry, who undertook this affair with great disadvantage.

The pirate rode at anchor to the windward, by which the Swallow was obliged to make two trips under her lee, in which she received two broadsides, and two volleys of small shot, without returning a gun. Mr. Berry then boarded her on the bow, pouring in his broadside, which killed the pirate twenty-two men on the spot: they then fought their way to the main-mast, where they called to the doctor and his mate to get over board, and hang by the rudder, which they did; and soon after the pirate was taken, having only seven men left, and those all wounded, though they lived long enough to be hanged afterwards in Jamaica; and, which is still more remarkable, there was no body killed on board the Swallow but the boatswain's mate.

On their return to Jamaica captain Insam confined his lieutenant, and brought him to a court-martial, where, on the evidence of the men, the court declared he had done his duty, ordered the captain to live peaceably with him in their voyage to England, which he did; and Mr. Berry, notwithstanding what was past, behaved towards him with all imaginable modesty and submission.

In a short time after he came home the Dutch war broke out, and Mr. Berry had a sloop given him, called the Maria, of fourteen guns, with the king's commission. He held this small command for about four months, in which space he took thirty-two prizes, and, for his extraordinary diligence, had the command given him of the Coronation, a hired ship of war of fifty-six guns.

In this ship he was soon after sent to the West-Indies, where our colonies were in no small danger, as having both the

the French and Dutch upon their hands. On his arrival at Barbadoes the governor bought some large merchant ships, converted them into men of war, and having made up nine sail, including the Coronation, manned and put them under the command of commodore Berry. With this little fleet he sailed for Nevis, in order to protect it from the French, who had already made themselves masters of St. Christopher's, Antigua, and Mountserat. He was scarce arrived before he had intelligence, that the French were preparing at St. Christopher's a very great force, which was intended for the conquest of Nevis. They had twenty-two men of war and frigates, six large transport ships of their own, and four Dutch. With these they sailed towards Nevis as to a certain victory.

Commodore Berry sailed with his nine ships to meet them; and, as he turned the point of the island, one of his best ships blew up, which struck his men with astonishment. "Now you have seen an English ship blow up," said the commodore, "let us try if we can't blow up Frenchmen. There they are, boys! and, if we don't beat them, they will beat us." Having said this, he immediately began the fight with the French admiral, and, after a brisk engagement of upwards of thirteen hours, he forced this mighty fleet to fly for shelter under the cannon of St. Christopher's, whither he pursued them, sent in a fire-ship, and burnt the French admiral: seeing her in flames, he said to his seamen, "I told you in the morning, that we should burn a Frenchman before night; to-morrow we will try what we can do with the rest." But, while he was refitting his ships, the enemy wisely stole away, the French to Martinico, and the Dutch to Virginia. Sir John Harman being sent with a squadron to relieve him, commodore Berry returned to England, and served with great honour in the channel and in the Mediterranean.

In the second Dutch war (as it was called, though properly speaking it was the third) he had the command of the Resolution, a seventy gun ship, in which he was present at the famous action in Southwold-bay on the twenty-eighth of May, 1672. In this battle, the captain observing that his royal highness the duke of York, then lord high admiral of England, was very hard pressed, he left his station, and came in to his relief, where the service proved so hot, that in less than two hours he had no fewer than one hundred and twenty men killed, as many more wounded, and his ship scarce able to float: upon this he was towed out

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out of the line, stopped his leaks, and fell into his place again in an hour, and there did such service, that when his majesty came to meet the fleet, and dined on board the Royal Sovereign at the Buoy in the Nore, he, of his own motive, called for captain Berry, and having knighted him, said very graciously, "As our thoughts have been now upon honour, we will hereafter think of profit; for I would not have so brave a man a poor knight."

In the year 1682 it was thought expedient to send the duke of York down to Scotland, and for this purpose the Gloucester frigate, under the command of Sir John Berry, was ordered to be ready: and accordingly, on the twenty-eighth of April, the duke of York embarked on board that ship. In their passage Sir John observed on the third of May, when in the mouth of the Humber, as he apprehended, an error in the pilot's conduct, though he was looked upon as a man of great abilities in his employment. Of this he informed the duke, and desired they might lie to, at least for that night, which the pilot opposed; and, being a great favourite of the duke, his advice prevailed. But his royal highness was soon convinced of the superiority of Sir John Berry's judgment, since, in three quarters of an hour afterwards, the ship was lost, and about three hundred people in her, amongst whom were some persons of the first rank; and the duke himself narrowly escaped in the long-boat, Sir John Berry standing with his sword drawn in the stern of the boat to hinder people from crowding in, which undoubtedly saved the duke, since a very few more would have overset the long-boat.

For the loss of this ship Sir John, according to the rules of the navy, was tried by a court-martial; but it appeared clearly to have happened through another man's fault, he was not only acquitted, but still continued in as great favour as ever both with the king and duke, who frequently consulted him as to the management of the navy.

When a resolution was taken in 1683 to blow up Tangier, and a considerable fleet was sent thither under the command of lord Dartmouth, Sir John Berry was made choice of to be his vice-admiral, and had the sole command of the fleet while his lordship was on shore directing the blowing up of the works. In this critical expedition Sir John gave such remarkable testimonies of his courage and conduct, and took such care in bringing off all the English and their effects, that, upon his return home, he was made a commissioner of the navy, in which post he continued to the day of his death.

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He was not, however, considered solely as a commissioner, and as a man no longer fit for active employment; for when it was known that the Dutch meditated an invasion, and a fleet fitted out to defend our coasts, Sir John Berry was appointed vice-admiral, and hoisted his flag on board the *Elizabeth*, a third rate, the admiral, lord Dartmouth, being in the *Resolution*, and the rear-admiral, lord Berkley of Stratton, first in the *Montague*, and then in the *Edgar*. After the landing of the prince of Orange, when lord Dartmouth thought fit to leave the fleet, the sole command of it devolved on Sir John Berry, who held it until it was laid up.

The change of the government wrought none in the condition of our admiral. An experienced officer, and a man of honour, will be a welcome servant to every prince. King William was one who valued abilities, and understood them, and therefore he often sent for Sir John Berry to confer with him on naval affairs; and once particularly the king engaged with him in so close and earnest a conversation, that it took up the whole night, and Sir John was not dismissed the royal closet, until it was pretty far advanced in the morning. Yet this favour brought him no accession either of post or profit; he kept what he had, and probably thought that sufficient, being commissioner of the navy, governor of Deal-castle, and captain of an independant company.

He was ordered, in the beginning of the month of February, 1691, to Portsmouth, to pay off some ships there; and while he was employed in the discharge of this office on board one of them, he was suddenly taken ill, and thereupon carried on shore to Portsmouth, where, in three or four days, it was given out that he died of a fever; but, upon opening his body, it appeared clearly to the physicians and surgeons who were sent, that he did not die a natural death, but that he had been dispatched out of the world by poison, though by whom, or for what reason, never appeared, or at least it was never made public.

His corpse, according to his own direction, was carried from Portsmouth to London, and decently interred in the chancel of Stepney-church, where a noble monument is erected to his memory, all of white marble, adorned with his bust in alabaster.

MEMOIRS of ARTHUR HERBERT, Earl
of Torrington.

IT is the duty of historians to report things fairly, and to speak of men impartially, without exaggerating their virtues, or extenuating their vices, by exhibiting their characters to posterity in that light, in which, after the best inquiry they are able to make, they appear to themselves. The latter were so inconsiderable when this work was first written, that it was thought more expedient not to attempt a life of this noble person, than to repeat a few facts and dates, so indifferently connected, as that it could not be presumed they would give even the most indulgent peruser any satisfaction.

He was the son of Sir Edward Herbert of London, knight, of the noble family of Herbert of Cherbury, a branch of that Pembroke, which suffering severely for the loyalty of Sir Edward, obliged his sons to think of making their fortunes by their industry and merit. Arthur the eldest, though he had a small estate of his own, made the sea his choice, as his younger brother Edward did the law; and both attained the highest stations, the latter becoming chief-justice of the king's-bench, and the former admiral of the fleet of England.

Our young seaman, immediately after the Restoration, was much taken notice of by his royal highness James duke of York, by whose favour he was very early promoted to the command of one of his ships of war; and, in the first Dutch war in the reign of Charles II. he commanded the Pembroke, where he distinguished himself in a very high degree.

He continued in the Straits for about six weeks, till he had advice that rear-admiral Kempthorne was sailed with his squadron for the Straits mouth, where he took care to join him with a small fleet of sixteen or seventeen merchantmen under his convoy, in order to proceed with the rear-admiral to England. They met with nothing extraordinary in their passage till about the middle of the month of May, when, being off the island of Portland, the Pembroke ran foul of the Fairfax in the night, and sunk at once; but captain Herbert and most of his crew were happily saved, there being none lost in the vessel but a few sick men, who were not able to help themselves, and whom the suddenness of the accident, and the confusion every body

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was in, hindered from being assisted by others. After this narrow escape captain Herbert went on board another ship of the squadron, and arrived safely at Portsmouth.

It was not long before he had another ship given him, and both in that, and in the second Dutch war, he behaved upon all occasions with great spirit and resolution, receiving several wounds, and losing the sight of one of his eyes in his country's service; all which considered, must seem very strange, that, when he fell afterwards under misfortunes, his courage should be disputed. In one of the last sea-fights in the second Dutch war, he had the command of the Cambridge, in which Sir Fretcheville Hollis had been killed in the battle of Solebay, and, as captain Herbert succeeded in his command, he was very near succeeding also to the same disaster, being desperately wounded in the action, and his ship so disabled, that together with the Resolution, which was in a bad condition, she was by prince Rupert sent home to refit.

After that war was over, captain Herbert had leisure to attend the court, and to solicit the rewards that were due to his services, in which he met with all possible kindness from the duke of York, who, as he had been hitherto careful of his fortunes, thought himself obliged to assist him in his pretensions; so that in the year 1680 or 1681 he was made rear-admiral of the blue, and from that time was considered as a person who had as much probability of rising as any in the service. It was not long before an occasion offered which justified this conjecture; for it being found necessary to send a supply of troops and military stores to Tangier, then in our hands, as also a squadron to curb the insolence of the Algerines, who, notwithstanding the treaties that had been concluded but a few years before, began again to disturb our commerce, it was resolved, that the command of this armament should be given to admiral Herbert, who was accordingly instructed to contribute as much as possible to the raising the siege of Tangier, and, when that was done, to use his best endeavours to bring the Algerines to a submission, and to a new treaty, upon better and more explicit terms than were contained in that they had lately broken, which they pretended to explain in such a manner as to justify their piracies.

In 1682 rear-admiral Herbert sailed into the Mediterranean with a strong squadron, and a considerable number of tenders and store-ships, which arrived very safe under his convoy at Tangier. He found that fortrefs not a little straitened by the Moors, by whom it was so closely blocked

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up, that nothing could enter it by land. Mr. Herbert not only relieved the garrison by the seasonable supply that he brought of provisions and military stores, but resolved also to restore his countrymen to liberty as well as plenty, by compelling the enemy to raise the blockade. He landed, with this view, as many seamen out of the fleet as he could possibly spare, formed them into a battalion, and by attacking the Moors on one side, while the garrison made a brisk sally, and drove them from most of their posts, on the other, obliged them to leave the neighbourhood of the place, and to retire farther within land.

He executed the other part of his charge, with respect to the Algerines, with equal spirit and success, destroyed some of their ships, and disposed things in such a manner to disturb and distress that state by sea, as obliged the dey to summon a divan, in which it was resolved to enter into an immediate negotiation with the English admiral: the terms were very speedily settled, without any of those ambiguities, which left them pretences for breaking their treaties when they pleased; and, the business of his expedition being happily over, he returned home safe, with the squadron under his command, towards the latter end of the same year.

Some time after this, but whether in the reign of king Charles II. or king James, I am not able to say, he was promoted to the rank of vice-admiral, and was as much esteemed by the seamen, and in as high credit at court, as any officer in the service. He was also appointed one of the commissioners for executing the office of lord high-admiral of England. The favours he had received from the duke of York gave him room to expect farther preferments upon the accession of that prince to the throne; nor was he deceived in his expectations, since, in the beginning of the new reign, he was made vice-admiral of England, and master of the robes, there being at that time no man of his rank who was more heartily attached either to the government or to the person of that prince.

But when the scheme for repealing the test-act came under consideration, and king James thought fit to closet such of his officers in the army and fleet as had seats in the house of commons, it quickly appeared, that vice-admiral Herbert was none of those complying spirits, who for the sake of private profit would sacrifice the interest of the public. His brother, the lord chief-justice Herbert, had exposed himself to public odium by giving judgment in his court, in favour of the king's dispensing power, upon an
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action brought against Sir Edward Hales, who had accepted an employment, without qualifying himself for it by taking the oaths the law required; and, though this seemed in some measure to have done all that the king wanted, he still persisted in his design of having the test-act repealed, which, amongst other extraordinary consequences, produced the disgrace of vice-admiral Herbert, who to that hour had never done any thing to disoblige the king, or had perceived the least coldness in his majesty towards him.

The small appearance there was of his being able to live with honour or even with safety at home, and his inclination to follow many persons of great reputation, who at that juncture chose to retire abroad, induced him to withdraw to Holland, whither he was either accompanied or quickly followed by his brother colonel Charles Herbert, and by his cousin Henry Herbert, Esq; whom king William afterwards created lord Herbert of Cherbury. Upon his arrival at the Hague the vice-admiral was exceedingly well received, and not long after taken into the service of the States, which was a very prudent and, in its consequences, beneficial step, numbers of English seamen following, and entering for his sake into the Dutch service.

At the prince of Orange's court vice-admiral Herbert was very sincerely welcomed; he was known to be a man of great weight and experience, one that perfectly understood the state of the English fleet, and the temper and characters of the officers who commanded it; so that there is no colour of reason to wonder he was treated with very high respect, and received into the most entire confidence, more especially as he took care to maintain his dignity by a very cautious and reserved behaviour, contrary to that heat and vehemence expressed by some other persons, who thought to make their court, by representing an attempt upon England as a thing that might be easily accomplished; whereas the vice-admiral understood and spoke of it as an undertaking that required a very considerable strength, exceeding discreet management, and much deliberation.

If the States-General and the prince of Orange gave him the title of lieutenant-general-admiral, and intrusted him with the supreme command of their fleet, there were many reasons that made him the properest man for that command, such as the nature of the design itself, his interest among the officers of the English navy, his perfect acquaintance with our coasts, his being most likely to engage the governors of sea-port towns to come in to the prince, and, above all, the necessity they were under
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of having some Englishman in a high post, to prevent the people from considering this as a hostile invasion. Now, if we view this matter in these lights, it is no difficult thing to see, that, of all the English who were about his royal highness, vice-admiral Herbert was in every respect the fittest man to be intrusted with that command; and therefore, the States and the prince of Orange conferred the command upon him as a thing which they saw to be very expedient, or rather absolutely necessary.

It was certainly a very extraordinary undertaking in all respects, and will appear so, if we reflect that a great army was to be embarked; that seven hundred transports were to be prepared for that embarkation; that provisions, ammunition, and every thing requisite for the service as well of the army as of the fleet, was to be procured in a short time, and with the utmost secrecy; all which was actually done by the most indefatigable diligence, it is plain therefore, that his skill in directing what was requisite for the fleet was entirely relied on; while they were engaged in making these preparations; to which they were two months constantly employed in giving all the necessary orders, which they did with so little noise, that nothing broke out all that time.

After such an instance of his capacity and indefatigable care, they might well expect that the rest of his conduct would be of a piece. But what seems farther to explain the real intention of the States and the prince of Orange in trusting vice-admiral Herbert, though a stranger, with so high a command, was, the publishing his letter to the commanders of the English fleet at the very same time with the prince of Orange's declaration; for, if they had not placed very strong hopes upon that, without question it had never been published at all, and, if they had such hopes, this alone will sufficiently account for the giving him the chief command under the prince of Orange, to whom, by the nature of his commission, he was lieutenant-general by sea. Neither were these hopes of influencing the English seamen slightly grounded, since the pamphlets wrote in those times universally agree, that the seamen had a very general and warm aversion to popery, disliked and despised such of their officers as had embraced that religion, and were very prone in their cups to drink admiral Herbert's health; so that these were very strong indications of their ill-will on one side, and their good-will on the other.

When every thing was ready, the troops were embarked with so much speed and secrecy, that no advices could be given

given in England that could be of any use : but notwithstanding this care, the fleet was obliged to return. They sailed on the nineteenth of October, 1688, and they put back into port on the twenty-second. This was a great disappointment ; and, without doubt, had things been managed by a prince of less firmness, or by an admiral of less experience, their expedition had been lost. It is reported, that admiral Herbert advised putting off the business to that late season of the year, because he judged that the winds would be more favourable ; that the king's fleet would be less able to act ; and that, when the enterprize was so long delayed, it would be concluded in England to be given over.

It is very certain, that this unexpected check made many people mighty uneasy, and occasioned some very extraordinary proposals to the prince. Amongst the rest one was, that admiral Herbert with a stout squadron should proceed to the English coast, and fight the king's fleet, to which he was not at all averse ; but the weather rendered it impracticable. The prince of Orange, however, never altered his intention in the least ; but having given the necessary orders for repairing the ships, and refreshing the troops, which was soon done, the fleet sailed again upon the first of November, and arrived speedily and safely on the English coast, where, by the skill and care of admiral Herbert, the troops were very soon landed, and, by his intelligence with several persons of distinction in the neighbourhood, amply supplied with provisions and other necessaries. In a very few days after, the good effect of the admiral's letter appeared by the coming in of several ships, the first of which was the Newcastle, lying at Plymouth, under the command of captain Churchill ; and, the way being once broke, the seamen declared in general for the prince ; from all which it fully appeared, how much the success of this great affair was owing to the valour, vigilance, and prudence of this noble person.

On the 8th of March, 1688, king William granted a commission for executing the office of lord high-admiral to the following persons, *viz.* Arthur Herbert, Esq; John, earl of Carbery, Sir Michael Wharton, Sir Thomas Lee, baronet, Sir John Chichely, knight, Sir John Lowther of Whitehaven, baronet, and William Sacheverel, Esq; but the last declined accepting that post, declaring, that, as he understood nothing of maritime affairs, he could not accept the salary with a safe conscience. As for the command of the fleet, that was intrusted with admiral Herbert from the beginning,

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beginning, and he had likewise the honour of bringing over the new queen.

We have already given a large account of his behaviour in the business of the Bantry-bay, of the motives which induced him to fight the French fleet, and of the consequences of that action, collected as well from the French as our historians: but, after all, perhaps the reader will not be displeased to see the account published by authority, drawn from the admiral's own letter from on board the Elizabeth, dated May the second, 1689, and which imported,

“ That admiral Herbert having refitted at Milford-Haven the damages which some of his ships had sustained by ill weather on the coast of Ireland, intended to go directly for Brest: but the wind coming easterly, which might bring the French fleet out, he stood, on the 24th past, over to Kingsale, which he judged the likeliest way to meet them.

“ That accordingly, on the 29th, our scouts made signal, that they discovered a fleet keeping their wind, which made us likewise keep our own all night, to hinder them from getting into Kingsale. The thirtieth they heard the enemy was gone into Baltimore, being forty-four sail; whereupon ours bore away to that place, but found there was no sign of them. That in the evening our scouts got sight of them again to the westward of Cape-Clear: we steered after them, and found they were got into Bantry; we lay off the bay all night, and the next morning, by break of day, stood in, where we found them at anchor. That they got presently under sail, and bore down upon our fleet in a line composed of twenty-eight men of war, and five fire ships, That when they came within musket shot of the Defiance, the headmost of our ships, the French admiral put out the signal for battle, which was begun by them, they firing their great and small shot very furiously on the Defiance and the rest, as we came in our line. That then we made several boards to gain the wind, or at least to engage them closer; but, finding that way of working very disadvantageous, admiral Herbert stood off to sea, as well to have got our ships into a line, as to have gained the wind of the enemy, but found them so cautious in bearing down, that we could never get an opportunity of doing it; and in this posture con-

"tinued battering upon a stretch until five in the afternoon, when the French admiral tacked from us, and stood away farther into the bay.

"That admiral Herbert's ship, and some of the rest, being disabled in their rigging, we could not follow them; but we continued some time after before the bay, and our admiral gave him a gun at parting. In this action captain Aylmer in the Portland, who came soon enough for the battle, with others of the Squadron mentioned, and ninety-four seamen, were killed, and about two hundred and fifty wounded, as appears by a survey taken after the fight; and our ships received little damage except in their sails and rigging.

"That as for our officers and seamen, the right must be done them, they behaved themselves with all the courage and cheerfulness that could be expected from the bravest men; and that, on the other side, without lessening the enemy, it may be said that they either wanted courage or skill to make use of the place, the wind, their fire-ships, and their number, being at least double our force, they having eighteen ships, the least of which was as big as the Elizabeth; and it so happened, at the time of the engagement, admiral Herbert had with him but eight third rates, ten fourth rates, one fifth rate, and two tenders. And that the fleet designed to rendezvous and refit at Scilly."

As to the personal behaviour of admiral Herbert in this action, it was altogether unexceptionable; he was in the hottest of the service himself, had several of the largest of the enemy's ships upon him at a time, notwithstanding which he continued to expose himself to encourage the seamen sword in hand upon the quarter-deck, and to do all that lay in his power to continue the engagement, inso-much that many thought, that, if the rest of the officers had done their duty as well as he, they had given a better account of the French than they did; for which some officers were called to a court-martial, and broke; so much was the admiral a lover of discipline. On the fifteenth of May, when the king dined on board his ship, he was pleased to express great satisfaction in his conduct, and declared his intention of creating him a peer, as he afterwards did, viz. on the twenty-ninth of the same month, by the title of Baron Herbert of Torbay, and Earl of Torrington. The house of commons also were pleased to give him thanks

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thanks for the service he had done the nation, in taking the first opportunity to fight the French in Bantry bay.

The reader will, without doubt, be pleased to see this matter set in the most authentic light from the journals of the house, in which it appears that Arthur Herbert, Esq; then burgefs for the town of Plymouth in the county of Devon, being in his place, had their thanks in consequence of an order made the Saturday before, which are thus entered :

Martis 21^a die Maii, primo Willielmi et Mariæ.

Mr. Speaker gave admiral Herbert the thanks of the house according to their order of Saturday last, to the effect as followeth, viz.

“ Admiral HERBERT,

“ This house hath taken notice of the great service you have performed in engaging the French fleet : they look upon it as one of the bravest actions done in this last age, and expect it will raise the reputation of the English valour to its ancient glory. I do therefore, by the command of this house, return you their hearty thanks for this service, and desire that you will communicate the like thanks, in their name, to the officers and seamen that served under your command, and to let them know that this house will have a particular regard of their merits, and take care, as much as in them lies, to give them all due encouragement.”

Whereupon Admiral HERBERT spoke to the effect as followeth :

“ SIR,

“ I am in some confusion at this great and unexpected honour, and the more, because I want words to express my sense of it. The best return that I think myself capable of making, is to assure this honourable house, that, with my utmost hazard I will endeavour,

“ by my future actions, to deserve it, and will not fail
 “ to obey their commands, in acquainting the officers and
 “ seamen who were with me, of the favourable accep-
 “ tation, by this house, of their service. And, since the
 “ house have so favourable an opinion of their actions,
 “ I would beg their leave to make an humble motion,
 “ and I think it is a thing becoming the greatness of
 “ this nation, and indeed has been the care of almost
 “ all nations that have any commerce at sea: it is, to
 “ assign some place and revenue for the support of such
 “ as are maimed in the service and defence of their
 “ country. There is no sufficient provision made at pre-
 “ sent in this kingdom, and indeed it is too great a
 “ charge for the crown. I therefore humbly move, it
 “ may be ordered by this house, that an act may pass,
 “ that they may have a support and subsistence, after
 “ they have by wounds been made incapable of farther
 “ service.”

Resolved, That the house will take care to make a pro-
 vision for such seamen as are, or shall be wounded in
 their majesties service, and for the wives and children
 of such as are, or shall be slain therein; and that a
 committee be appointed to consider how the same may
 be done.

And it is referred to Admiral Herbert, Mr. Hales,
 Mr. Boscawen, Mr. Ashburnham, Sir William Williams,
 Mr. Garway, Mr. Elwel, Lord Cooke, Mr. Holles, Mr.
 Papillon, Mr. Gwyn, Lord Falkland, Lord Sherrard,
 Mr. Bickerstaff, Mr. Henry Herbert, Mr. Edward Ruf-
 sel, Mr. Bromly, Mr. Thomas Foley, Sir Duncan Col-
 chester, Mr. Leveson Gower, Mr. P. Foleys, Sir Henry
 Capell, Sir Christopher Musgrave, Mr. Sacheverell, Mr.
 Cooke, and Sir Thomas Littleton.

As he was at this time possessed of all that a man could
 well desire, the esteem of his prince, the favour of the peo-
 ple, and the love of the seamen, so it is allowed that he
 behaved in a manner every way worthy of his station, liv-
 ing very magnificently when in town, and shewing a great
 respect for his officers when at sea, which gained him a
 wonderful interest in the fleet; to this, though some have
 given a sinister turn, as if it was the chief cause of his ac-
 quittal by the court-martial that tried him, yet impartial
 judges will hardly believe, that he could have gained such

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an interest but by an extraordinary degree of merit, and by a readiness to distinguish it in other men, for which, while it was not in some degree criminal to affirm it, he was generally famous in the navy. When he went down to take the command, in the spring of the year 1690, of the confederate fleet, his character stood as fair as any officer's could do; and even the Dutch in their relations allow, that his conduct was very great in shifting and avoiding an engagement in pursuance of the advice of a council of war, founded upon the enemy's great superiority, till such time as he received positive orders to fight; and then he shewed likewise great judgment in the disposition he made for an engagement.

We have little to add to the account we have already given of the action off Beachy-head, on the 30th of June, except that in the battle there was not so much as one English man of war lost, and but one of the Dutch; that, in the whole course of the retreat, the earl of Torrington gave his orders with great prudence, and in such a manner as prevented the French from making any great advantage of what they called a victory, notwithstanding the inequality of their fleets, and some unlucky accidents that happened in spite of all the precautions that could be taken. Neither was his lordship at all discomposed, when, upon his being sent for up to town, he found so general a clamour raised against him, but, on the contrary, gave a very clear account of matters before the council; insisting, that he had done all that was in his power to do, which made him easy in his mind as to the consequences, being persuaded, that of the two, it was much better of the two to ruin himself than to ruin the fleet, as he absolutely must have done, if he had acted otherwise than he did.

All he could say, however, had little effect at that time; so that he was committed to the Tower, and commissioners were sent down to inspect into the condition of the fleet, and to make the necessary inquiries for framing a charge against him, it being held absolutely requisite to bring him to a trial, that the justice of the nation might not suffer in the opinion of her allies, the resentment of the Dutch having risen so high as to threaten pulling down the house of Lord Dursley, who then resided at the Hague.

When the parliament met, October the second, 1690, his majesty was pleased to take notice in his speech, in a very particular manner, of the disaster that had happened off

off Beachy-head ; and the paragraph being but short, we shall insert it : “ I cannot conclude without taking notice
 “ also how much the honour of the nation has been exposed by the ill conduct of my fleet in the last summer’s
 “ engagement against the French, and I think myself so
 “ much concerned to see it vindicated, that I cannot rest
 “ satisfied till an example has been made of such as shall
 “ be found faulty upon their examination and trial, which
 “ was not practicable while the whole fleet was abroad,
 “ but is now put into the proper way of being done as
 “ soon as may be.” But notwithstanding this, the proceedings against the earl of Torrington were not very expeditious, and therefore he applied himself by way of petition to the house of peers, who took his case into consideration ; but, having fully debated it, left him to the ordinary proceedings, or, in other words, referred him to a court-martial.

Yet, in order to the constituting of such a court, as we have elsewhere observed, there were some difficulties to be got over, and those of such a nature as demanded the attention of the legislature, in order to effect which, a bill was brought in for vesting in the commissioners of the admiralty the same power in regard to granting commissions, which was already vested by law in the lord high admiral of England.

It may not be amiss to observe, that on the twentieth of January, 1689, the king had appointed a new board of admiralty, in which Thomas, earl of Pembroke and Montgomery, was first lord instead of the earl of Torrington, and Sir Michael Wharton was left out. On the 5th of June, 1690, the board was again changed, and augmented from five to seven. These were Thomas, earl of Pembroke and Montgomery, John earl of Carberry, Sir Thomas Lee, baronet, Sir John Lowther, baronet, Edward Russel, Esq; Sir Richard Onslow, baronet, and Henry Priestman, Esq; and to this board it was that the intended act gave the power of appointing court-martials for the trial of any officer of what rank soever, as a lord high admiral might do. When this bill came to be read a third time in the house of peers, it occasioned very warm debates, many lords being of opinion, that it would have been better, if, instead of a new board, his majesty had appointed a lord high admiral, in which case there would have been no need whatever of a new law ; but at length, however, it was carried by a majority

majority of two only; upon which many of the lords entered their protests for the following reasons:

“ Because this bill gives a power to commissioners of the admiralty to execute a jurisdiction, which, by the act of the thirteenth of Charles II. entitled, *An act for establishing articles and orders for the regulating and better government of his majesty's navy, ships of war, and forces by sea*, we conceive they had not; whereby the earl of Torrington may come to be tried for his life for facts committed several months before this power was given or desired, we think it reasonable that every man should be tried by that law that was known to be in force when the crime was committed.

“ It is by virtue of the said act of the 13th of Charles II. that the earl of Torrington was judged by this house not to have the privilege of a peer of this realm for any offences committed against the said act; and there is no other law, as we conceive, by which the said earl could have been debarred from enjoying the privilege of a peer of this realm; which act making no mention of commissioners of the admiralty, but of a lord high admiral only, by whose authority all the powers given by that act are to be exercised, and without whose consent singly no sentence of death can be executed, we think it of dangerous consequence to expound a law of this capital nature otherwise than the literal words do import; and as we conceive it without precedent to pass even explanatory laws, much less such as have a retrospect in them in cases of life and death, so we think it not at all necessary to make such a precedent at this time, there being an undoubted legal way already established to bring this earl to a trial by a lord high admiral.

“ Thirdly, the judges having unanimously declared, that the law marine was no where particularized in their books, whereby the power or jurisdiction of the lord high admiral may be ascertained, so that practice is all that we know of it; we conceive it unprecedented, and of dangerous consequence, that the jurisdiction exercised by the lord high admiral should by a law be declared to be in the commissioners of the admiralty, whereby

"ty, whereby an unknown, and therefore unlimited power may be established in them.

"Rivers, Huntington, Rochester, Weymouth, Stamford, Dartmouth, Oxford, Macclesfield, Thomas Roffen, Crew, Bath, Granville, Herbert, Craven, J. Exon, Bolton, J. Bridgewater."

As soon as the bill had passed both houses, and had received the royal assent, the earl of Torrington was removed out of the Tower into the custody of the marshal of the admiralty, where he had not been long before he brought his case into the house of commons. This was done by a member's acquainting the house, that this noble peer was desirous of being heard at their bar in respect to the matter for which he was in custody. Upon this an order was made for his lordship's being brought thither the next day, the serjeant at arms was directed to serve the marshal of the admiralty with a copy of it, which he did accordingly; and, November the twelfth, the house being informed that his lordship was in the lobby, directed him to be brought in by the serjeant with the mace, to a chair set for him within the bar, on the left hand of the house as he came in; and having sat down thereon for some time covered, and the mace being laid upon the table, his lordship rose, and stood at the back of the chair uncovered, and was heard before the house; after which his lordship withdrew, the mace attending him.

This is all we meet with in the journal; but a writer of those times assures us, that his lordship found himself so much embarrassed in the presence of that assembly, as not to be able to express himself as he intended; upon which he acquainted the commons, that, being accustomed rather to act than to speak, he found himself at a loss for words, and therefore desired to make use of his papers, which was allowed him. He then took notice how early he had entered into his country's service; how many years he had spent therein, and of his having spilled much blood, as well as been deprived of his eye, in their quarrel. He proceeded next to the loss he had sustained for supporting the Protestant religion, and the laws and liberties of England under King James II. Last of all, he spoke of the engagement with the French fleet off Beachy-head, in respect of which he excused his not fighting, from the want of intelligence, want of ammunition, shortness of

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of wind, inequality of numbers, and, in support of what he said, produced some letters; but all this was of little or no use to his lordship. The house remitted him to that trial for which the late act had made way, and of which the highest expectations were raised at home and abroad, the king being resolved not to embark for Holland till it was over.

Accordingly, Saturday the 6th of December, 1690, his lordship went down to Sheerness in his yacht, the court-martial sitting there on board the Kent. On Monday, December 8, Sir Ralph Delaval, being in the chair as president, the commission was opened and read, and other preliminaries adjusted; after which the court adjourned to Wednesday the 10th, when the witnesses were heard on the part of the crown, as well Dutch as English; but, notwithstanding the loudness of the common reports, there was very little appeared in proof, notwithstanding the court took all the pains they could to sift things to the bottom; his lordship then made his defence in the manner that has been before mentioned; insisted largely on the superiority of the French fleet; on the shifting of the wind, which put it out of his power to succour the Dutch; on the care taken of securing a retreat, and the small advantage that the enemy reaped from their so much boasted success in this action, which had drawn upon their admiral, Count Tourville, as many censures as upon himself, and with pretty much the same reason. After mature consideration, both of the charge, of the defence, and of the evidence offered, the court, *nemine contradicente*, acquitted him wholly of any imputation whatever, from his conduct on that occasion. To which, when required to sign it, they most steadily adhered. It is said, that a certain Dutch rear-admiral, who was present, expressed his resentment very warmly, and it is certain the proceedings were quickly after printed in Dutch, with some animadversions.

On Thursday, December the eleventh, the earl of Torrington returned to town in his barge, with the union flag flying, as bearing still the king's commission of admiral and commander in chief. He returned to his own house, where he received the compliments of his friends, and the news, which could not surprise him much, that his commission was superseded. He was almost the only victim in that reign, for he never received any mark of favour, much less enjoyed any command afterwards. He came, however,

ever, in a few days, to the house of peers, where he constantly attended for above twenty years after, without altering his conduct in the least, which is a manifest proof that he was not governed by caprice but by principle. He was always on the side of the crown, and very rarely in any opposition to its ministers; sometimes, however, he was, and then he commonly protested, that the reasons of his opposition might appear, and that the world might not ascribe his disagreement with men in power to prejudice or spleen. In matters that related to the navy, he was generally most forward, and, in respect to them, the house heard him with much respect and attention, and upon such occasions he shewed himself commonly a friend to strict discipline, and a frugal management in the navy.

He raised, while in employment, a considerable fortune, upon which he lived in a manner becoming his rank, during the remainder of his life. His lordship was twice married, but never had any children; and at length, after having spent the latter part of his life in as much privacy and quiet as he had done the former scenes of it in action, he breathed his last, April the thirteenth, 1716, in a good old age, leaving the bulk of his estate to the right honourable Henry, earl of Lincoln, merely out of respect to that noble person's steady adherence to the same cause, which the earl of Torrington supported during his whole life. These particulars, which had hitherto lain scattered in a variety of authors, we have, with the utmost diligence, gathered and digested according to the natural order of time, that the memory of so brave a man might not be altogether buried in oblivion, or that clamour, which the best judges thought without foundation, be as fatal to his fame after death, as while living it was to his power.

These, however scanty, are all the memorials that we have been able to discover from books or information, as to the eminent seamen who flourished in his reign, except it be a very few dates in respect to the following illustrious persons.

John Lord Berkley of Stratton was the son of Sir John Berkley, the faithful servant of King Charles I. and King Charles II. by whom, during his exile, he was created baron of Stratton, in the county of Somerset, and younger brother to Charles Lord Berkley of Stratton, who died at sea in 1682. This noble lord was rear-admiral at the time of the Revolution, groom of the stole, and first gentleman

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tleman of the bed-chamber to Prince George of Denmark; and, as we have seen, often admiral of the fleet in the reign of King William, and colonel of the second regiment of marines; of all which employments he was possessed when he died, February 27, 1696-7, leaving behind him no issue male, so that the title devolved on his younger brother William, father to the present worthy nobleman John Lord Berkley of Strattan.

The honourable Edward Neville, Esq; was the second son of George Lord Abergavenny, and notwithstanding his high birth, arrived at his station in the navy by pure dint of merit. He died on board the *Lincoln* the twelfth of September, 1701, in the thirty-seventh year of his age, as his squadron made the land of Virginia. and left behind him a son, the late Lord Abergavenny, who deceased at Bath, the twenty-first of September, 1744, and a daughter.

End of the FOURTH VOLUME.

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